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ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE

IN ENGLAND.

AN

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE

OF

Anglo-Saxon Literature

IN ENGLAND.

BY

JOHN PETHERAM.

"The ground of our own appertaineth to the old Saxon."
CAMDEN'S *Remaines.*

LONDON:
EDWARD LUMLEY, 56, CHANCERY LANE.
M.DCCC.XL.

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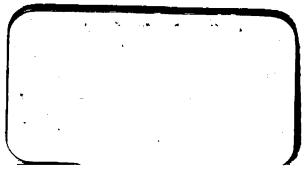

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PREFACE.

The increasing attention which the subject of Anglo-Saxon Literature has received in the present century, has rendered the subject of the following pages a desideratum in literary history. Occasional notices of the progress which this comparatively new study is making amongst us have, from time to time, appeared in our Magazines and Reviews; but in the connected form which has been attempted in this Sketch, it is new to me, and, I believe, new to the world. I have not presumption enough to imagine that the subject is exhausted, or that the attention which, at short intervals of leisure only, I have been enabled to devote to it, from the pressure of sterner duties, has not allowed some notices to escape which might have been inserted.

The publication of Bosworth's Dictionary suggested first the plan of a complete Anglo-Saxon Bibliography, which I had proceeded in to some extent before I became acquainted with the Bibliothèque Anglo-Saxonne of M. Michel. Being superseded in this, the idea of

a connected sketch occurred, and materials were immediately sought from every source which previous reading, and after suggestion, dictated. The original intention was to complete the work in about six or seven sheets; but, after having collected materials, I found compression was absolutely necessary; but this has been effected so as least to affect the original plan; notwithstanding which, it has extended to nearly twice that number. An occasional digression has been allowed, which seemed almost necessary to enable the reader to peruse a long, and, to some, perhaps, a tedious catalogue of the titles of books and dates of their publication; but these will be found to possess a connection with the main subject.

Some apology, perhaps, may be thought necessary for the introduction of so many quotations. In some cases, as in those of Fox and L'Isle, I preferred letting the writers tell their own story; in others, the language required little or no alteration, so that it was unnecessary. The Prospectus of the Saxon Laws, and that of the Saxon Homilies, by the Elstobs, and of the Society of Antiquaries, together with some other plans of the kind, have been inserted as documents which it seemed desirable to preserve; and such are of more value when existing in a collected form than distributed in several volumes, and some of those, from their scarcity or expense, not accessible to every one.

It remains now to acknowledge the assistance which I have received from others. And, in the first place,

my thanks are due to a gentleman connected with the London Institution, by whose kindness I was enabled to avail myself of the noble library which it contains; and I sincerely return my thanks to the officers of that Institution for the attention which I received from them. To the publisher of this volume I owe my thanks for placing some works at my disposal, to which I could not obtain easy access elsewhere; and, for looking over the proof sheets, I am under obligations to a much-esteemed friend. To the public I leave the rest, from whose decision, generally just in the end, there is no appeal.

Being unacquainted with what is termed the "literary world," I had neither friendship to mislead on the one hand, nor resentment to gratify on the other, in commenting on the works which it was necessary to mention. My sole aim has been, in all, nothing to extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.

LONDON, *February* 5, 1840.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

We live in an age and country in which a vast system of centralization seems likely, if persisted in, to annihilate every local power hitherto employed for the keeping society in a well ordered condition. It appears desirable before the complete extinction of what has been sanctioned by the practice of centuries, and therefore of importance to us, that we should "enquire for the old way, and if it be the good and right way, then to walk therein." Without knowing the language of a people we cannot become thoroughly acquainted with their social state. The study of the Anglo-Saxon language, therefore, comes to us recommended by the additional inducement that it was the speech of our forefathers, in which are recorded the laws which governed them, and the faith in which they believed.

There appears to be something truly patriotic in the revival of this language by the Reformers of the sixteenth century; and, although personal might have intermixed with purer motives, in their promotion of this new and comparatively barren study, we owe them a lasting debt of gratitude, which we can best repay by encouraging and promoting what they so zealously began. If their knowledge was less critical than ours,

we still have to thank them for having given us the means, by the multiplication of printed copies of Anglo-Saxon books, of correcting their errors.

Until comparatively recent times a few scattered particulars only were known respecting the Anglo-Saxon race. A barren list of the names of kings, and the battles which they fought, made up the greater portion of Anglo-Saxon story. With the state of society, or the state of knowledge, existing amongst them, of their prose or poetic compositions, we knew but little. Whilst the shelves of our libraries are filled with works written in the dark ages, (as we are apt to term the period preceding the Conquest,) on every subject of study then known, either in the vernacular or in the Latin tongue—materials sufficient to convince the most sceptical that they had made great progress in civilization—we have considered them a race of piratical barbarians, whose history and whose institutions were unworthy of our study. But we have fallen on better times; an ardent spirit of research has arisen on the subject of our early history, and, whilst we trace the progress of society in the changes of its institutions, may we hope that the language which Chaucer, and Shakspeare, and Byron have rendered immortal, will, in its older forms, soon receive from the instructors of the rising generation the attention which it so richly deserves.

Independent of the personal interest which, as Englishmen, we take, or ought to take, in the history of our country, there is superadded the important consideration which it affords us of thereby elucidating the history of the human mind, and of explaining the reason of the fact, that the inhabitants of an island so small as that on which we live should have spread her name, and language, and power, over the whole earth.

Whether the Saxons, on their invasion of Britain, possessed a knowledge of written language, has been much disputed. Like most of the Teutonic race, they employed *Runes* to record their events. These Runes were supposed to possess magical powers. After their conversion to Christianity, the Roman missionaries taught them to write in the manner in which they had been accustomed; hence the origin of what

we now term the Anglo-Saxon letters; but there are three only which strictly possess that character, and they are derived apparently from the ancient Runes. These are, þ, *th*, ð, *dh*, and ƿ, equivalent to our *w*.* What we term the Saxon alphabet was that in general use in this country from the sixth to the thirteenth century. We have thought fit to adopt it as Anglo-Saxon, and works in the Anglo-Saxon language are generally printed in this character; although, on the Continent, the modern Roman alphabet has been substituted, with the exception of the þ and ð, and this latter practice has found strenuous advocates amongst us.†

But if, in the absence of direct evidence, we are left in some doubt respecting the knowledge of written language, possessed by the Anglo-Saxons, the early patronage of literature by their kings, leaves us in no doubt respecting their progress, when once they had begun to study the new art of "bóc-cræft." The pilgrimages to Rome, which, for religious purposes, were undertaken soon after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, introduced the learning, as well as the teachers of the then mistress of the world. A prospect of worldly advancement induced some, whilst religious motives guided others, to visit the "*isles of the west.*" The monks brought with them, not only the sacred writings, but also the works of the great writers of Greece and Rome. These were deposited in monasteries, where they were preserved with great care, and formed the ground-work of those MS. collections in which our own country is perhaps richer than any other.

The religion introduced by Gregory and Augustin was, of course, that professed at Rome. It was a compound of doctrines, ritual, discipline, and polity, derived partly from the Scriptures, partly from the decisions and orders of former councils and popes, intermixed with the popular customs and superstitions. The pope continued his attentions to his

* Palgrave's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 149.

† See Gent. Mag. April, 1834, p. 392; Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, 1830; Kemble's Letter in Michel's Bib. Anglo-Saxonne, p. 35, and the authors there referred to.

infant church. He sent Augustin the pall, with a letter of instructions on the formation of the English hierarchy. Desirous of promoting literature amongst the new converts, he sent many MSS. of books, accompanied by ecclesiastical vessels, vestments, and ornaments; and thus began the intellectual as well as the religious education of the Anglo-Saxons.*

The first school established in England was at Canterbury, at the commencement of the seventh century. Ethelbert, king of Kent, sanctioned Augustin's labours; and after his conversion to Christianity, assisted him in promoting the conversion of his subjects. We afterwards find him distinguished, not only as the first Christian king of the Anglo-Saxons, but also as the author of the first written Anglo-Saxon laws, which have descended to us, or which are known to have been established.†

Sigebert, about the year 631, ascended the throne of East Anglia. In his youth he had fled into France for safety from the arms of Penda, where he became a Christian, and attached himself to study. On his accession, he founded that school in his dominions, which has the distinction of being the first after that of Canterbury, which the Anglo-Saxons established; and also of being supposed to have formed the original germ of the University of Cambridge.‡

The latter portion of the seventh century, however, is the period referred to, as that in which literature was firmly established in England. The archbishop of Canterbury, dying at Rome, in 668, whither he had gone to solicit the papal ratification of his title, the Pope Vitalianus determined to elect a prelate of his own. He accordingly nominated Adrian, by birth an African, and abbot of a monastery near Naples; who declined the proffered honour, and recommended Theodore, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and at that time a monk in Rome, whom, at his own request, he promised to accompany. The pope approved of his choice. Theodore accepted the appoint-

* Bed. Hist. c. 29. Wanley has given a catalogue of the books sent by Gregory, p. 172. See also Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 344–5. Elstob's Saxon Homily, 1709, Appendix.

† Turner, vol. i. p. 345.

‡ Turner, vol. i. p. 372.

ment, and, at the age of sixty-six, was ordained archbishop of Canterbury. His friend Adrian accompanied him to England.*

These men were well versed in Greek and Latin literature, and speaking those languages with equal fluency, their knowledge and conversation excited among the Anglo-Saxons an emulation for literary studies, and drew around them a multitude of scholars, to whom, besides the Scriptures and divinity, they taught the Greek and Latin languages, astronomy, arithmetic, and the art of Latin poetry.† Theodore retained his dignity twenty-one years. He appointed Adrian to the monastery of St. Peter, at Canterbury, who lived there thirty-nine years; and their presence, we are told, made Kent the fountain of knowledge to all England. Their pupils zealously diffused the knowledge they had acquired wherever they went. Schools were established in every monastery, for the education not only of the clergy, but such of the laity as evinced any inclination for literature. The principal deficiency was a competent supply of books. Among the benefactors to literature, Benedict, who founded the abbey of Weremouth, must be mentioned with honour. He went many times from England to Rome, and brought back with him very many books of every description, some given to him by his friends, some purchased not without great cost. And when his earthly career was well nigh ended, he enjoined his successors to preserve with care the library he had collected, that it was not spoiled or scattered by negligence.‡

Egbert, who was archbishop of York in 712, founded a noble library at York.§ It is of this library that Alcuin writes in one of his letters to the Emperor Charlemagne:—"I want those more exquisite books of scholastic erudition which I had

* Turner, vol. i. p. 396; Lorenz's Life of Alcuin, p. 7; Wright's Essay, p. 31; Bed. Hist. lib. iv. c. i.

† Ibid.

‡ Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 293–5.

§ A Catalogue of the books in the library at York, chiefly collected by Egbert, is given in Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. p. 398.

in my own country. May it then please your wisdom, that I send some of our youths to procure what we need, and to convey into France the flowers of Britain, that they may not be locked up in York only, but that their fragrance and fruit may adorn, at Tours, the gardens and streams of the Loire."*

The celebrated Bede, he to whom above all others we are so much indebted, began his education at seven years of age, under Benedict, in the monastery of Weremouth. His writings embrace almost every then known subject of science and learning. By their diffusion a flood of light was poured in upon the minds of his countrymen, which, from that time to our own, amidst all the vicissitudes to which books and learning have been subjected, has never ceased to illuminate their path.

Aldfrid, king of Northumbria towards the latter end of the seventh century, is celebrated by Bede as the first literary king of the Anglo-Saxons. He had been educated by Wilfrid of York; and we find that his love of knowledge had extended his fame, and excited the attention of Aldhelm, the celebrated West-Saxon scholar.† Nor was learning confined to ecclesiastics or to kings only. The Anglo-Saxon ladies were not only learners but teachers. For their reading Aldhelm, bishop of Scireburn, wrote his treatise *De Laude Virginitatis*; and, in the Epistles of Boniface, we find many letters addressed to him by his female pupils, which shew their acquirements in Latin verse as well as in prose. The instance connected with Alfred's first learning to read may be mentioned. "It chanced one day that his mother,—his own mother, Osburga,—and not, as some people suppose, the Frenchwoman Judith,—shewed to him and his brothers a volume of Anglo-Saxon poetry which she possessed. 'He who first can read the book shall have it,' said she. Alfred's attention was attracted by the bright gilding and colouring of one of the illumined capital letters. He was delighted with the *gay*, and inquired of his mother—would she really keep her word?

* Alcuini Epist., p. 1463; Turner, iii. 20.
† Turner, iii. 371.

She confirmed the promise, and put the book into his hands; and he applied so steadily to his task that the book became his own."*

Whilst literature was progressing at home, the Anglo-Saxon princes and clergy were not unmindful of their countrymen, whom religious motives had impelled to end their days at Rome. About the year 728,† Ina, king of the West-Saxons, who was tenacious of power, by a stratagem of his queen, was induced to follow in the footsteps of many of the Anglo-Saxon kings; he resigned his crown to his kinsman, and, imitating what all ranks were then emulous to do, he travelled to Rome. There he founded a Saxon school, for the instruction of his countrymen, who chose to be educated at Rome; and he added a church for their service, and for the convenience of their burial. To support this, and to provide a subsistence to the English who should dwell there, he imposed the payment of a penny on every family, which was called Romescot. It was sent to the papal see. This school was much encouraged by the Anglo-Saxon nobles and sovereigns. The payment of Romescot at first included only the kingdom of Wessex. It was next extended to Mercia, in the reign of Offa,‡ and eventually over all England, and so continued until the Reformation, when it was abolished by Henry VIII.§

In 855, Ethelwulph, of Wessex, accompanied by his son Alfred, then entering on his seventh year, with presents of great value and splendour, undertook a journey to Rome. He continued there a year, and rebuilt the Saxon school which Ina had founded. By the carelessness of its English inhabitants, it had been set on fire the preceding year, and

* Palgrave's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, p. 162.

† In dates, I have generally followed the "Summaries of Anglo-Saxon History," in the second volume of Sir F. Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth; which with great care were verified by Mr. Allen, the learned author of an "Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England," 8vo, 1830, and other valuable works.

‡ Offa, king of Mercia, went to Rome before his death, and extended to his own dominions the liberality of Ina called Romescot. Turner, vol. i. 420.

§ Vide Statutes of the Realm, 25 Hen. VIII., c. 21.

burnt to ashes. It is described as an habitation, and the place where it was situated was called the Saxon street.*

In the eighth century, the age of Bede, England was distinguished for learning and learned men. Besides those already mentioned, the names of Claudius, Rabanus, and Erigena, pupils of Bede, may be adduced as having, by their talents in after life, done honour to their instructor. Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, who was "born and nourished in the nation of the English," was a man of great learning. His letters to some of the Anglo-Saxon kings; to Nothelm, archbishop of Canterbury; to the Anglo-Saxon bishops, Daniel and Ecberth; and to several abbots and abbesses, are still preserved.† He was a native of Devonshire.

When Alfred ascended the throne of Wessex, the ravages of the Danes had already produced a rapid decline in learning and civilization. Churches and monasteries, the only libraries and schools which then existed, seem particularly to have been the objects of their attacks. Many of these were by them burnt and destroyed, and the clergy, from the absence of books and instructors, fell into such a state of deplorable ignorance as to be unfitted for the sacred office. "South of the Humber," says Alfred, "there were few priests indeed when I

* Turner, i. 496, whose authority is Anastasius Bibliothecarius de Vitis Pontif. Ed. Rome, 1718. In the fifth publication of the Camden Society, "Anecdotes and Traditions illustrative of Early English History and Literature," edited by Mr. Thoms, at page 117 will be found extracts from the common-place book of a Mr. John Collet, [Additional MSS. British Museum, No. 3890.] "No. CLXXXVIII. Peter-pence. Peter-pence was an alms granted to the Pope, viz. a peny upon every hearth or chimney, payable at the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula. This alms was granted only by the King, *ex regali munificentia*, out of his own demesnes, and it issued only out of such houses as yielded thirty pence rent, *vivæ pecuniæ*. This grant passed at first under the lowly title of an almes, but afterwards it was called *Romescot*, or Romesfeogh, or heord-penny, and the whole summe of it annually amounted but to L.200, 06s. 08d.—*Collet*, p. 9."—"Much curious information relative to the origin of this tax, and its supposed connection with the celebrated 'Schola Saxonum,' as well as to the foundation of that institution, will be found in Dr. Lappenberg's valuable '*Geschichte von England*,' i. 199, a work which, as it is understood to have found a very able translator in the learned editor of Cædmon, it is to be hoped will ere long be made accessible to the English student."—*Note of the Editor.*

† In the Bib. Mag. Pat., vol. xvi. and in his works.

began my reign, who could understand the meaning of their common prayer, or translate a line of Latin into English; so few that in Wessex there was not one."* But few persons had written in the vernacular tongue before his reign. The poems of Cædmon; a translation of St. John's Gospel by Bede; a version of the Psalter, and one or two other works, are nearly the whole of native literature, to the period of Alfred's accession, that has descended to us.

From a circular letter which Alfred addressed to his bishops, we learn that it was his earnest desire that useful books should be translated "into a language we all understand, so that all the youth of England, but especially those of gentle kind, and at ease in their circumstances, may be grounded in letters, for they cannot profit in any pursuit until they are able to read English."† His biographer, Asser, also informs us, that, in the school which he established for the education of his nobles, Ethelweard, his youngest son, was committed to the diligent care of proper instructors, with almost all the noble children of the province, together with many of inferior rank. Thus displaying an attention to the intellectual wants of his people which would do honour to a sovereign even in our own time. In this school they were taught Latin, and Saxon, and the art of writing. Instruction was principally oral. The absence of any grammar by which the Anglo-Saxon language was taught, and the method of dialogue which appears to have been the general form of instruction used, sufficiently prove this. Before the time of Alfred, it is supposed that English was not taught in the schools. Yet there is a passage in his preface to Gregory's Pastorale which indicates the contrary.‡

* Alfred's Preface to Gregory's Pastorale, ed. Parker, 1574. Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, i. 162-3.

† Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, i. 171.

‡ "When I remember how the learning of the Latin tongue before this was fallen through the English nation, *and yet many could read English*, then began I, among much other manifold business, to turn into English the book named Pastoralis," &c. Alfred's Preface to Gregory's Pastorale, ed. Parker, 1574. Turner's Anglo-Saxons, ii. 20. Much information on the method of instruction amongst the Anglo-Saxons may be found in Wright's Essay on their Literature and Learning; and in the Third Volume of Turner's History.

Although we cannot accurately trace the progress of Alfred's intellectual career, yet we are made acquainted with his first efforts. He was twelve years old before he learned to read. His acquisition of Latin was some years after this; because, as he tells us, he found no one who was able to teach him, when he had leisure in his youth to learn. Then he began to translate texts and passages from the sacred writings; these he inserted in a little manual which he always carried about with him. Afterwards he translated *Bœthius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, in doing which, he amplified the text by additions of his own, so that in the Anglo-Saxon version of this once popular book, we have almost a new and distinct work. A selection from the *Confessions of St. Augustin* was also the production of his pen. To the translation which Werfrith, bishop of Worcester, made of the Dialogues of St. Gregory, he added a preface. He translated the Pastoral Instructions of St. Gregory for the use of his clergy. In his English version of the ancient history of Orosius, he enlarged the text by additions of great curiosity, partly derived from the knowledge which he had acquired by study, and partly from the relations of other persons. The narrative of the voyage of Ohthere towards the North Pole, and that of Wulstan in the Baltic, are detailed in that work, as these travellers related them to the king. Not to be unmindful of the domestic peace of his people, he compiled a code of laws, by the assistance of his *Witan*, from those of his predecessors, rejecting some, and altering others, and incorporating with them the precepts of the decalogue; thus teaching his countrymen, that to keep the commandments of God was as requisite to their security and happiness as the obeying the laws of man. Although we must admit that all the merit which these works deserve is not to be attributed to the king, because he acknowledges the assistance which he derived from his "archbishop, Plegmund, his bishop, Asser, his mass priests, Grimbald and John."* Yet there is much due to him, who, amidst the difficulties, and labour, and suffering which would, in thousands of cases, have extinguished the spark of knowledge,

* Preface to Gregory's Pastorale, 1574.

could still find leisure to produce those literary treasures which alone are sufficient to stamp him as the benefactor of his race.*

The name of Dunstan claims our attention, from the extraordinary power which he acquired, and the uses to which it was applied. He was of noble lineage, and at an early age was introduced to the court of Athelstane, by his uncle, Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury. In his youth he became attached to a very beautiful maiden, his equal in rank and station, and whom he wished to marry. His uncle, Athelm, represented this as an evil temptation, and Dunstan persisting, he prayed that some affliction might befall his nephew, and bring him to a sense of duty. Dunstan was soon after seized with a violent fever, (probably the result of terror,) which endangered his life, from which, after a long time, he recovered. But he had become an altered man. The self-denial, and the sufferings under the name of penance which he subsequently underwent, seem almost incredible, unless we conceive them to have been adopted as a habitude of mind, for the purpose of excluding from it what had once been his chief hope and consolation. But the talents he possessed, and which he cultivated with great assiduity, soon spread his fame; he was invited to court by Edmund, and constituted the chief minister of his kingdom.

The popes of Rome about this period (that is, about the middle of the tenth century) were earnest in compelling the celibacy of the clergy. This regulation had never been enforced upon the inferior clergy. It became a party-badge; a pledge, if yielded, of submission to the Church of Rome, a token of hostility if refused. The great object to be attained was the total suppression of the different independent churches throughout Christendom. In the earlier ages of the Christian faith, this supremacy was neither claimed nor enforced. In Pope Gregory's instructions to St. Augustin he writes, "You know the custom of the Roman church, in which you remember you were brought up. But I am willing, if you have

* Wise's Asser. 1722. Turner's Anglo-Saxons. Palgrave's History.

found anything in the Roman or Gallican, or in any other church, which will be more pleasing to the Almighty, that you carefully select it; and infuse into the English church, which is yet new in the faith, in its leading institution, those things which you may have collected from many churches. Choose then from every church whatever things are pious, religious, and right, and collecting them as into a bundle, place them as a habit in the minds of the English."*

Closely connected with the subject of the celibacy of the clergy, was the introduction of the Benedictine rule among the monks of England. Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, at the request of Dunstan, translated the Latin rule of St. Benedict into Anglo-Saxon; for this he was rewarded by Dunstan with a grant of land. Oswald, nephew of Odo, the former archbishop of Canterbury, another favourite of Dunstan, was created bishop of Worcester. Armed with the papal authority, supported and defended by the king, and aided by the willing co-operation of Æthelwold and Oswald, Dunstan proceeded with energy in his plan of reformation. The married clergy who refused to separate from their wives were forcibly driven out. Some, perhaps, were bribed into compliance. As soon as a body of monks was established in any church, large donations of land were bestowed. *Folcland*, as its name imports, the land of the people, nominally was vested in the king, as the representative of the state. This land he sometimes granted to individuals for life, and their occupancy for so long a period might seem to create in it a right, but which the non-possession of any power to transmit to another, caused it at their death to revert to the king. But if the consent of the king could be obtained to transfer this land to any religious institution, a charter was made, by which it was converted into *bocland*; it ceased to be the land of the community; it became the right of an individual subject to the decision of his will; and might be disposed of in any way that he saw fit. From the control which the clergy exer-

* Bede, lib. i. c. 27. Turner's Anglo-Saxons, iii. 490. Elstob's Homily on the birth-day of St. Gregory.

cised over the minds of the people, estates were often thus acquired; and being held by the security of charter, were amassed to such an extent, that, had its progress continued much longer, the monastic institutions would soon have acquired, in England, the best portion of its cultivated lands. Many of the endowments of the monasteries during the Danish invasions, and the consequent insecurity of property thereupon, had been seized upon or unjustly acquired by the nobles and other laymen. Edgar often succeeded in persuading these persons to restore the property thus acquired. In one instance, a thane having refused to give up the land he had seized, and despising the anathemas which the church freely denounced on those who usurped its treasures, the king purchased it with his own money, and restored it to the church. Thus Dunstan, whose zeal for the establishment of monasteries was excessive, and in England has never been equalled, was principally indebted to the control which he exercised over the mind of Edgar, for the establishment of forty-eight opulent Benedictine monasteries of monks and nuns in Anglo-Saxon Britain.*

To the establishment and general spread of monastic institutions, to the schools in them, and to the education therein received, may we, with some justice, attribute the tendency of the Anglo-Saxon mind towards religious literature. Hence it is, doubtless, that we have so many sermons, homilies, penitentiaries, translations of, and comments on, the Scriptures, and lives of saints, compared with the truly valuable, although meagre chronicles, and other lighter works produced in the century which preceded the Norman Conquest. Before closing this portion of our sketch, there is one individual of this period, whose varied talents shone forth with peculiar lustre, that deserves our particular notice. This was Ælfric, generally by himself styled abbot, but better known as Ælfric the grammarian.

We find two Ælfrics in Anglo-Saxon history, both living

* Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, 249. Allen's Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative, 158, 159.

in the latter portion of the tenth century, and one of them, according to the Saxon Chronicle, died in the year 1051 or 1052 archbishop of York, at a very advanced age. Difficulties will always attend the elucidation of the characters and events of a remote period. Hence we would willingly believe that Ælfric the grammarian, whom we shall presently find so ably defending the Anglo-Saxon church against the heretical doctrines attempted to be imposed from Rome, was not the same Ælfric who was the strenuous advocate of that church in the expulsion of the married clergy.* It is evident from the Epistle to Sigeferth, by whomsoever written, that its author was an advocate of the celibacy of the clergy. It commences thus: "Ælfric, abbot, greeteth Sigeferth friendlily. It is told me that thou sayest of me that I otherwise teach in my English writings than doth our anchoret teach, that is at home with thee. For he plainly saith that it is lawful for mass-priests to take wives, and my writings speak against this."† The homilies which Ælfric selected and translated into English at Cerne were written about 990. He submitted the first forty of these to Sigeric, the then archbishop of Canterbury, by whom they were approved; and the epistle sent therewith explains the sources from whence they were drawn, and the circumstances under which, and for what purpose, they were written. Ælfric afterwards sent him forty other homilies. Both sets being authorised, were published as the Sermons of Ælfric, Priest.‡

From one of his works, the Anglo-Saxon "Treatise on the

* It is altogether foreign to the subject of this Sketch to enter on the discussion, or to attempt to identify the offices held, or the works written, by the two Ælfrics. Those who are desirous of investigating the subject (and it is by no means one devoid of interest to the student of English literature) may consult Joscelin's Preface to Ælfric's Saxon Homily, 1567; Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. 1691; A Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle, 1830; Preface to Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, 1823; and the authorities by them cited. It may incidentally be stated, that we have mention of Ælfric as Priest; as Abbot of Malmsbury; Abbot of St. Albans; Abbot of Burch, (Peterborough;) Archbishop of York; and Archbishop of Canterbury; all of which titles it would be absurd to suppose belonged to one individual.

† Preface to Ælfric's Saxon Homily, to be spoken to the people at Easter, before they should receive the Communion. 1567.

‡ Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle, p. 34.

Old and New Testament," addressed in an epistolary form to "Sigwerd at East Heolon," we learn several interesting particulars of his literary labours; a personal detail of the works he had written, which perhaps exists nowhere else. In one place he writes, "Thou hast oft intreated me for English Scriptures, and when I was with thee, great complaint thou madest that thou couldst get none of my writings. Now will I that thou hast at least this little, since knowledge is so acceptable to thee, and thou wilt have it rather than be altogether without my books." And in another, "Sevenfold grace he bestoweth on mankind, whereof I have already written in the English tongue," He elsewhere tells us that he had written largely of the fall of man, and the prophecies which foretold the coming of our *Hælend*, Christ. Having mentioned the dispersion of mankind over the face of the earth, with as many languages as leaders, he adds, "as we have written heretofore in another treatise, tending to the furtherance of our faith." After enumerating the great events recorded in the Book of Genesis, and detailing the contents of the remaining books of the Pentateuch, he adds of them, "which we have also translated into English." Of the Book of Joshua he says, "this book I also turned into English for Ethelweard, ealdorman." In addition to these he tells us that he translated the Book of Judges; a portion of the Book of Kings; the two Books of the Maccabees; the Book of Esther, "which I briefly, after my manner, translated into English;" and the Book of Judith, "Englished according to my skill for your example, that ye men may also defend your country, by force of arms, against a foreign host." According to the same work we learn that he had written a homily on Daniel; a homily on the sufferings of Job; and of the Gospels he says, "I have written already of these four books about forty sermons and more in the English tongue." The conclusion of the epistle makes us acquainted with a trait in the manners of the age, which the evidence of history fully confirms. "When I was with thee, thou wentest about to persuade me to drink freely, and beyond my custom, as if for pleasure, but know thou, dear friend, that whoso forces another man to drink more than

he can bear, shall answer for both if any harm come thereof;"* displaying a leniency of reproof which the liberality of modern times would do well to imitate.

From the number and variety of the works of Ælfric, we must consider him, after Alfred, the principal creator of English literature. Those generally attributed to him are, an Epistle to Sigeferth; a Treatise on the Trinity, to Wulfgatus; a Treatise on the Old and New Testament, to Sigwerd; a Latin Grammar; a Latin-Saxon Glossary; a Translation of the Latin Grammar into Anglo-Saxon; Colloquies for Boys; Rules and Customs for Monks, drawn from Æthelwold's Book of Customs, &c.; Life of Æthelwold; a portion of the Saxon Chronicle; Epistles and Homilies.†

* Ælfric's Treatise of the Old and New Testament, pub. by L'Isle, 1623.

† For a particular account of Ælfric's works, see Wanley's Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS.

CHAPTER II.

We now approach a period when a change took place in the language, as well as in the government of England. "The Norman Conquest," says a learned modern writer, "forms a dark, determined boundary line, where the accession of William becomes an era upon which we are accustomed to found chronologies and calculations; a term of beginning and of ending."* It has been maintained by some, that the Conqueror entertained the project of abolishing the English language: he ordered that in all schools throughout the kingdom, the youth should be instructed in the French tongue. The pleadings in the supreme court of judicature were in French, the deeds were often drawn in the same language, and the laws were composed in that idiom. This theory, which, until very recently, has received the assent of almost every writer on English history, has been controverted by the learned author of the *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth.* He tells us that "before the reign of Henry III. we cannot discover either a deed or law drawn or composed in French; and that, instead of the language being proscribed by the Conqueror and his successors, it was employed by them in their charters, till the reign of Henry II., when it was superseded by the Latin, which, however, was no new custom, but had been the language employed in these compositions anterior to the accession of Alfred, from whose time they were as often written in Anglo-Saxon as in the Latin."†

* Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 52.
† Ibid. vol. i. p. 56.

There is, however, one thing which is undoubted, that the language of the court was that which the Conqueror brought over with him. It was by no means unknown before his time. Many of the youth of England, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, were sent to the schools of France; a continual intercourse was carried on between the two countries, long before this period, and if we could accurately trace the Anglo-Saxon language from the commencement of the Confessor's reign, in any chronological series of works, we should doubtless find that changes had already begun, and that it had become adulterated with words from the French, before the period at which its total extinction is said to have been contemplated.

There is scarcely a subject of literary history that is less known than the process by which the English language was evolved, or produced from the Anglo-Saxon, by the amalgamation of words from the French. The language up to the Conquest is called Anglo-Saxon. From that period to the middle of the thirteenth century it has acquired (though with very doubtful propriety) the name of Semi-Saxon; and from that period to the Reformation, that of Middle-English. But on a slight consideration of the subject, it will be evident that dialectic varieties must have existed after the Conquest to a much greater extent than before that event. There is no doubt respecting the adoption of words from the Danish, and the alteration of many names of places in the northern counties. At the present time, the dialects of the North and West vary so much, that it is with considerable difficulty the natives of each understand one another in conversation; and nearly the same may be said to exist in those of the mid-land counties understanding the other two. Even in the metropolis, where the constant circulation of society brings the east and west together, and from which it might be supposed that something like a uniformity of speech would be maintained, we are at no loss to distinguish the races or the language which they use.

We are indebted, perhaps, to many causes, and those not easy of elucidation, for the changes which our language un-

derwent during the period from the Conquest to the Reformation. But it is amongst the agricultural population of the remoter counties that we must expect to meet with, and if we seek amongst them, shall find, the remains of our old speech. The retention of customs by them, once general, now local; of the implements of husbandry which their forefathers used; of their mode of cultivation; and non-intercourse with large cities and towns; have caused them to retain the terms of a language, which in other parts of the kingdom have become extinct. Amongst other causes, the hereditary hatred of the races must have kept the language of the Conqueror at bay, and preserved to the Anglo-Saxon his native tongue, long after the Norman had settled on the fairest portion of his lands. And thus it is, that the same names of agricultural implements; their uses; the occupations of agriculture; the names of fields; their boundaries; the streams which divide one possession from another; the names of villages, hamlets, towns, (marking out with an accuracy truly astonishing the local circumstances which distinguish them, and from which their names were formed,) are still preserved in many of the remote counties of England. Such as they were before the Conquest, such have they continued since, and now remain.

Until a classification of the Anglo-Saxon MSS. has been made by some competent scholar, we shall be wanting in the requisite knowledge, by means of which to detail the history of the language. Although the Saxon Chronicle, after the Conquest, displays considerable changes in its language, and which appear much greater towards the latter years, the uncertainty respecting its authors, and the periods when it was written up, must render it at present a very doubtful authority on the contemporary character of the language of the people whose history it records. Some Anglo-Saxon charters recently published,* from the Chartulary of Cirencester Abbey, establish the fact, that the orthography of the language was in the

* By Sir Thomas Phillipps in the Archæologia, vol. xxvi. part 1, 1835.

course of change, between the reign of Edward the Confessor and the Norman Conquest. Any attempt to classify the writings after the Conquest, according to the order of *time* only, must fail; from the fact, which a slight examination of Middle-age literature will illustrate, that they do not synchronize. The language of MSS. written in one part of the kingdom, will not be found to agree with that of MSS. written in other places. For proof of this we may compare some of the writings of the twelfth century with others of the thirteenth, and even of a later period. We might also illustrate this from various sources, were it necessary, but one or two will be sufficient. The language of a MS. in the Kentish dialect of the date of 1340,* presents a character at least a century older, and even may be termed Semi-Saxon. The Vision of Piers Plowman by no means appears to belong to the period in which it is supposed to have been written: and its recent editor seems to have thought there was a strong relationship between its language and that of the people among whom he himself lived.

In the west of England, a language is still spoken in many places which bears no strict definite relation to any written composition that we find in books. Many of the words which they use are now obsolete in written compositions. On referring to the Anglo-Saxon writings we meet with them. We find them in the Semi-Saxon pages of Layamon, in the pages of Robert of Gloucester, and in writings nearer to the Reformation, as well as after that event, preserving the same orthography, as their vulgar pronunciation now must compel us to employ if we put them into writing. Although we have made some little progress in Middle-age literature since the time of Thomas Hearne, and therefore are not likely to be led to the conclusion, "that Simon Fish was the author of Piers Plowman," we have much still to learn; and the industry of some scholar, who shall give us a good "Dictionary of Middle-

* With much pleasure we observe proposals recently issued for the publication of this MS. (the Ayenbite of Inwit) by a gentleman well qualified to do it justice.

English," will richly merit, if he do not receive, the thanks of his own age and of posterity.*

If the Danes, during their ravages, merit our reprobation for the devastation which they committed, (and in which the loss of our libraries is to be much regretted,) we cannot pass over the destruction of our literary treasures after the Conquest from different causes, without passing a deserved reprobation on the motives which dictated it. We owe the preservation of many MSS., containing Anglo-Saxon compositions, during this period, solely to the circumstance of their being written partly in Latin,—the Saxon having been preserved for the sake of the Latin. Many of the Latin MSS. are found to be interlined with an Anglo-Saxon translation. We are, however, by the preservation of this mixed class of MSS. enabled to trace with greater accuracy the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon church, as it merged, which it did soon after the Conquest, into that of Rome. In a Latin epistle of Ælfric, formerly in the Library of Worcester, but now in Benet College Library, on the then doctrines of the church, that portion of it written against

* It may not be altogether out of place here, to notice an opinion which a distinguished writer of the present day has promulgated in the following words: "A colloquial language, approaching nearly to modern English, seems to have existed concurrently with the more cultivated language which we call Anglo-Saxon, at a period before the Conquest; and one of the versions of the New Testament [Codex Hattonianus in the Bodleian Library] is in this language." (Palgrave's Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 174.—Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth, i. p. 26, 27, 28, 462, 464.) And he supposes this language to have been derived from the Belgæ, who were settled in Britain anterior to the invasion of Hengist and Horsa. But is it within the range of possibility, that a train of circumstances, like that which followed the Norman Conquest, (and which, without doubt, laid the foundation of our modern English, in the changes which then commenced in our ancient speech,) could have been paralleled in the reign of the Anglo-Saxons in England? There seem to have been few events in common that could lead to any such results as are here supposed,—the descent of the Belgic into the "colloquial language, approaching nearly to modern English" before the Conquest,—and the actual descent of the Anglo-Saxon into modern English; for the latter of which we have materials existing that will guide us by an unbroken chain of evidence from the Conquest to the present hour. I am not aware whether the contents of the Hatton Codex have been sufficiently examined to enable us fully to give a judgment on the matter. The learned Wanley speaks of it as Anglo-Saxon, or rather Norman-Saxon; and its composition he refers to about the time of Henry II. [Wanley's Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS., 76.] May we not attribute some portion of this opinion to the author's theory respecting the "British Origin of the Anglo-Saxon Ceorls?"

transubstantiation was found to be so perfectly erased, that no letter or fragment of a letter remained. The Saxon copy of the same epistle having been found in the archives of Exeter church, the whole sentence has been restored. We are told that many books were destroyed in the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. In the Lansdowne Collection we have "a copy of leaves torn out of a book, said to be written temp. Edw. IV., in favour of the house of Lancaster against the said King, which leaves were found in a bookbinder's shop, and the said book ignorantly put to profane uses."* In the scarcity of writing materials in the middle-ages, many MSS. were erased for the purpose of substituting other works considered at the time of more importance. These are but isolated facts, it is true, forming data of a slight kind on which to found a general conclusion. But it is these isolated facts which occasionally fall under our notice in literary history that confirm the statements of contemporary writers, and add to our minds a conviction which otherwise rests on the relation of individual, possibly interested, and therefore doubtful authority. If we had learnt from a contemporary writer, that, in the thirteenth century, the writings of some MSS. had been erased, for the purpose of employing the prepared membrane to write other compositions upon; if we had been told that this was a practice in common use; and that, from the erasure having been imperfectly made, the original writing might with care be traced, and thus be restored to us: if we had been told this, our evidence for its truth must rest entirely upon our belief in the veracity of the narrator. If we found a single MS. in which we could trace but a few words only, our belief would be stronger. But if whole works could thus be restored to us, all doubts would cease, and our belief in the truth of the narration would be complete. Many MSS. have, in this extraordinary manner, been restored to us. They have acquired the name of *Palimpsests*, or *Codices Rescripti*. More attention has been given to this class of MSS. on the Continent than amongst us. It is, however, by no means impossible that we

* MS. Lansdown. 205, fol. 138 b. Anno 1581.

may yet, under some of the writings of the middle-ages, discover a portion of those Anglo-Saxon compositions now supposed to be lost.*

There are many reasons for believing that the Anglo-Saxon language was never extinct in England. Although the Anglo-Saxon characters were in use two centuries or more after the Conquest,† they were seldom used in Latin compositions; and to this, and the severe ordinances introduced by the Conqueror, may we attribute their decline. A few patriots in the monasteries preferred them still, and to them are we indebted for their preservation. On the destruction of Croyland monastery by fire in 1091, Ingulphus, bewailing the loss of his charters, attributes it to chance that any escaped. "A few years before," says he, "I had given several out of the treasury, of which we had duplicates, that they might be kept in the cloister for teaching the *juniors* the Saxon hand. Having been long slighted because of the Normans, it was come to be unknown, except by a few of the *seniors;* but the *juniors* were instructed to read the old letter, that they might *understand* and *maintain* our charters when they grew old."‡ Camden tells us, that "in the Abbey of Tavistock, (which had a Saxon founder about 961,) there were solemn lectures in the Saxon tongue, even to the time of our fathers, that the knowledge of the language might not fail, *as it has since well nigh done.*"§ And that which is here related of Tavistock monastery seems to have been true also of others. William L'Isle, in his Preface to the Saxon Monuments, published by him in 1623, thus alludes to the subject: "Thanks be to God, that he

* In Jesus College Library, Cambridge, is a Palimpsest MS., in which a splendid copy of the Anglo-Saxon Homilies of Ælfric has been erased to make room for Latin decretals. A few words near the margins of the leaves may with care be traced. Wright's Essay, 108. Historical Account of Palimpsest MSS. by Archdeacon Nares, in Trans. Royal Soc. Literature, vol. ii. 1834.

† The last expiring efforts of the Saxon language seem to have been made in 1258-9, in a writ of Henry III. to his subjects in Huntingdonshire and all other parts of the kingdom, in support of the Oxford provisions of that reign. It is printed in Somner's Saxon Dict. under *Unnan*. Bosworth Int. to A. S. Grammar, p. 17. Edit. 1823

‡ Ingulph. Hist. sub anno. § Britannia in Devon.

that conquered the land could not so conquer the language, but that in memory of our fathers it hath been preserved with common lectures," &c.

Before the year 1525, we find a printing press already erected in the monastery of Tavistock, for in that year an English translation of *Bœthius de Consolatione Philosophiæ* was printed there, under the title of "The Boke of Comfort, translated into Englesse Tonge. Enprented in the exempt monastery of Tavestok in Denshyre, by me Dan Thomas Rycharde, Monke of the said Monastery. To the instant desyre of the ryght-worshypful esquyer Mayster Robert Langdon, Anno Do. MDXXV." Hearne, who, in his Glossary to Robert of Gloucester, has given us an account of this work, says that the translation was made by Joannes Waltwnen, or Walton, (canon of Oseney, and sub-dean of York,) at the request of Elizabeth Berkeley, and was finished in 1410; and he conjectures, that "it was printed out of a pious design, *as well as for the advancing the Saxon tongue*, which was taught in this abbey, as in some other places of this kingdom, with success; and there were lectures read in it constantly here, which continued some time after the Reformation."* He adds, "that, from having a variety of words agreeing with the Saxon, it might be thought a very proper book for the attaining to a knowledge of the Saxon language."†

It is singular that with this desire to perpetuate the language of our ancestors, there should exist no grammar of it amongst our manuscript collections. At least, none is at present known to exist by which that language was taught, and it is, perhaps, to the publication of this translation of Bœthius that we must attribute the prevailing opinion that the monks of Tavistock Abbey cut a font of Saxon type, and with it printed a Saxon grammar and other Saxon works.‡

* Glossary to Robert of Gloucester, p. 712.

† Ibid.

‡ "It is said that the monks of Tavistock, before the dissolution of their monastery, not only revived the study of Saxon, but possessed a font of Saxon type, and printed Saxon books. I cannot give any information on this point: assuredly of any Saxon which they did print (if ever they printed any) there is nothing remaining in any library in Europe."—*J. M. Kemble's Letter in*

In 1533, (25 Hen. VIII.) John Leland was, by commission under the great seal, appointed the king's Antiquary. It is stated in the anonymous life of Leland,* that about 1525 he removed to All Souls' College, Oxford, where he prosecuted his studies not only in Greek and Latin, but in the *Saxon* and Welsh also. John Bale, Leland's friend and contemporary, tells us that "he was learned in Greke, Latyne, Frenche, Spanyshe, Brittyshe, *Saxonyshe*, Walshe, Englyshe, and Scottyshe."† We have also the testimony of Tanner, Nicolson, and other writers, that Leland possessed a knowledge of the Saxon language; so that as much as was sufficient for the purpose of examining the Anglo-Saxon MSS. which he might meet with, we may readily grant to him. Although his appointment as king's Antiquary preceded by two years the dissolution of the smaller,‡ and by six years that of the larger§ monasteries; the limited power with which he was invested could only partially preserve from destruction the literary treasures which in them were reposited. Hear the complaint of a contemporary: "Never had we bene offended for the losse of our lybraryes, beynge so manye in nombre, and in so desolate places for the more parte yf the chief monumentes, and moste notable workes of our excellent wryters had been reserved. If there had bene in every shyre of Englande but one solemyne lybrary, to the preseruacyon of those noble workes, and preferrement of good lernynges in our posteryte, it had bene yet sumwhat. But to destroy all without consyderation, a great number of them whych pur-

Michel's Bibliotheque Anglo-Saxonne, p. 2. "It has been said, that so early as the fifteenth century, the monks of Tavistock applied themselves to the study of the Anglo-Saxon language, and that they even printed a grammar. No traces, however, of such a book can now be found; and it may have been a mere error arising from the indefinite manner in which some people formerly applied the term Anglo-Saxon."—*Wright's Essay on the Literature, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 109.

* Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood, Oxford, 1772, p. 4.

† Preface to New Yeares Gift to Henry VIII.

‡ 27 Henry VIII. c. 28, Act for granting to the king all monasteries not having L.200 a year, A.D. 1535-6.

§ Act for the dissolution of abbeys, 31 Henry VIII. c. 13, A.D. 1539.

chased those superstycyouse mansions, reserued of those lybrarye bokes, some to serue their iakes, some to scour their candlestyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they sold to the grossers and sopesellers, and some over see to the bokebynders,* not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons. Yea, the unyversytees of thys realme are not all clere in thys detestable fact. But cursed is that bellye, whyche seketh to be fedde with such ungodly gaynes, and so depely shameth hys natural contreye. I know a merchaunt man, whych shall at thys time be namelesse, that boughte the contentes of two noble lybraryies for xl shyllynges pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuffe hath he occupyed in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these x yeares, and yet he hath store ynough for as many yeares to come. I iudge thys to be true, and utter it with heauynesse, that neyther the Brytaynes, under the Romanes and Saxons, nor yet the Englyshe people undre the Danes and Normannes, had euer such dammage of their lerned monumentes as we have seane in our time."†

What a contrast does the present offer to the past! We are now seeking every where, at home and abroad, and purchasing back, at an immense cost, those very MS. treasures, perhaps, which, at the period of the Reformation, were scattered to the four winds of heaven as of no value. The Vandals of that age might have thought the retention of them would have delayed the glorious work of godly reformation. But

* Besides being sent over sea to the bookbinders, a circumstance now rendered almost certain by the discovery of several Anglo-Saxon MSS. on the continent, in the covers of books we have recently had evidence that many MSS. at home were also destroyed in this way. Thus fragments of a valuable MS. of the twelfth century were recently found in the cover of a book, for the strengthening of which they had been used. These have been published, entitled, "Fragments of Ælfric's Grammar, Ælfric's Glossary, and a Poem on the Soul and Body, in the orthography of the Twelfth Century, discovered among the Archives of Worcester Cathedral, by Sir T. Phillipps, Bart. Edited by Sir T. P. London, 1838," folio.—*Wright's Essay on Anglo-Saxon Literature*, p. 59.

† Bale's Preface to Leland's New Yeares Gift to Henry VIII. 1549.

instead of wondering at the few Anglo-Saxon MSS. which we possess, let us rather be thankful that, in the general wreck, so many are left to us.

John Leland appears to have been the first individual of the reformed faith who possessed a knowledge of the Saxon language, and collected Saxon MSS. We may infer that Bale also had some knowledge of that language. Although poor, his untiring industry enabled him to collect together many valuable books and MSS. which were thought to be of such importance by Archbishop Parker, that on Bale's death he "took care to bespeak them before others, and was promised to have them for money; and this he writ to his friend the secretary, (Cecil,) as knowing him to be a great antiquarian himself, and a studious retriever of such monuments."*

No sooner had the Reformation made some progress, than controversies arose on the points of variation which distinguished the old faith from the new. Of these we may in particular instance three. 1. On the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. 2. On the marriage of priests. 3. On Christ's bodily presence in the Sacrament. Without attempting a discussion of these subjects, it will be sufficient to remark that on the first of these, so far as ancient authority went, the advocates of the new faith possessed the advantage, aided also by the countenance of the king. In the preface to the

* Strype's Life of Archb. Parker, p. 143.—MS. Lansdown. vi. 81. Antony Wood says, in speaking of Duke Humphrey's library at Oxford, that after it was opened as a public library in 1480, many persons gave books to it, but before it had continued eighty years it was rifled by "unreasonable persons." Many scholars upon small pledges would borrow books thence, which pledges, not being worth half the value of the books, the books were never returned. Polydore Vergil borrowed many, but being refused, he obtained the king's order to take out any MSS., which was imitated by others, by which the library sustained great loss. He also accuses Richard Coxe, dean of Christ church, one of the visitors in the reign of Edw. VI., of "purging this library of its rarities, especially such as had Rubrics in them, or any way favoured, as he thought, of superstition, that he left not one of these goodly MSS., of all which none were restored in Queen Mary's days save one." Some of the books so taken out by Reformers were burnt, some sold away for Robin Hood pennyworths, either to booksellers, or to glovers to press their gloves, or tailors to make measures, or to bookbinders to cover books bound by them, and some also kept by the Reformers for their own use.—A. Wood's Hist. Univ. Oxford by Gough, ii. 919.

folio Bible printed about 1539 or 1540 by Grafton, Archbishop Cranmer takes his stand on the antiquity of the custom:— "And yet, if the matter should be tryed by custome, we might also too allege custome for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custome. For it is not much above one hundred yeares agoe since Scripture hath not been accustomed to bee read in the vulgar tongue within this realm. And many hundred yeares before that it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue: whereof there remain yet divers copies found lately in old Abbies, of such antique manner of writing and speaking that few men now been able to read and understand them. And when this language waned old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the want of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain and bee daily found."*

But the subject was not set at rest; for in 1554, Dr. Standish wrote a work expressly against the practice, in which he has advanced every thing that could be said against it, and much more than is tenable. This book was entitled, "A Discourse, wherein is debated whether it be expedient that Scripture should be in English for al men to read that wyll. London, for R. Caly, 1554."† In 1572, we find Parker maintaining the cause which his predecessor had engaged in, and from the collections which had been made by him from various sources, he was enabled to sustain the argument with better success, which he did in the preface to the folio Bible published in that year.

But the exertions of Archbishop Parker, in the revival of the Anglo-Saxon language, were of a nature too valuable for us to pass them over thus lightly. It is difficult to fix upon the motives which induced him to collect, with that avidity, which was as singular as it was meritorious in such

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, Appendix, p. 242.—The allusion here seems to indicate the existence of more copies of the Saxon, as also of Wickliffe's Translation of the Scriptures, than are now to be found.

† Strype's Memorials, vol. iv. p. 279. Edit. 1816.

an age, every thing connected with Saxon and British antiquity. Mention has been made of the disputes on the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Besides this subject, in which, as the *first* strictly Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, he would possess an *official* interest, there was one of a *personal* nature, to which some portion of his zeal may possibly be attributed.

We find that Parker, some twelve years before his elevation to the primacy, was married to Margaret, daughter of Robert Harlestone, of Matsal, in the county of Norfolk. Strype tells us that "he loved her seven years before he married her, but Henry VIII. having made it felony for persons in orders to marry, they waited until the reign of Edward VI., when time and laws permitting, they were married. While Parker was in a private capacity, she showed her discretion in her good housewifery and frugality, and yet she had all things handsome about her; but when he became archbishop, she ordered her house-keeping nobly and splendidly in all things suiting his high dignity."*

The act 31 Henry VIII., c. 14, § 5, which made it felony in "Priests keeping women with whom they had contracted matrimony," was modified by 32 Henry VIII., c. 10, the penalties of forfeiture and felony being repealed. By an act passed in the next reign, [2 and 3 Edward VI., c. 2,] entitled, "An act to take away all positive laws against the marriage of priests;" the laws, canons, &c., prohibiting the same were declared void.† On the accession of Queen Mary, many of the acts relative to the Reformation were repealed. The 1 Marie, stat. 2, c. 2, is "An act for the repeal of certain statutes made in the time of the reign of Edward VI.," amongst which was the one above mentioned. By the repeal

* Strype's Life of Parker, p. 24.

† From the preamble to this act, it is evident that the old leaven still lingered amongst the Reformers. It begins, "Although it were not only better for the estimation of priests and others, that they live single, because they would not have the charges of wife and children, and household, yet in consequence of evils happening," &c.—Statutes of the Realm, published by the Record Commission, folio.

of this act of Edward VI., the laws of Henry VIII. were revived. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the bishops and clergy who had wives (and who, in the shifts and concealments to which they resorted in the time of her predecessor, to evade the penalties of the law, were often placed in situations of difficulty and danger) expected some change in their favour. They expected the obnoxious laws of Henry VIII. and Queen Mary would have been repealed in the first Parliament of Elizabeth's reign; but in this they were grievously disappointed. Sandys, writing to Parker, April 1559, says, "that no law was made concerning the marriage of priests, but that it was left as it were *in medio*, that the Queen would wink at it, but not establish it by law, which is nothing else than to bastard our children."* The clergy were therefore obliged to obtain a legitimation of their children.

It is difficult to account for the active hatred which Queen Elizabeth manifested towards the married clergy. In her progress through Suffolk and Essex in 1561, finding that some of the members of cathedrals and colleges lived with their wives and servants on the foundations, she issued an order from Ipswich, dated 9th August 1561, (with a preamble, stating the great decay of learning likely to ensue,) forbidding, under the penalty of forfeiting all ecclesiastical promotion, the head or member of any college or cathedral church within the realm, from having his wife or any woman to dwell within the same.† On another occasion, the archbishop, according to his usual custom, attended on the Queen, to know if she had anything to say to him concerning religion or the church; when she spoke with great bitterness against marriage, and, in particular, against the married clergy, insomuch, that the archbishop, writing to Cecil, tells us, that he was in a horror to hear such words from her mild nature as she spake, concerning God's holy ordinance and

* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 80.
† Order in Council, Strype's Parker, p. 107.

institution of matrimony. Furthermore, she added, that she repented of having advanced him or any of the married clergy to ecclesiastical dignities.*

In promulgating his opinions on the subject of priests' marriages to the world, the timid and cautious archbishop was therefore compelled to work with the hands of others. During the reign of Queen Mary, he had written or greatly enlarged a work on the marriage of priests, showing its lawfulness, both by the divine law and the laws of the realm. This book he caused to be printed, carefully concealing his name, in the year 1562. It was entitled, "A Defence of Priests' Marriages, established by the imperial laws of the realm of England; against a civilian, naming himself Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Civil Laws, going about to disprove the said marriages; lawful by the eternal word of God, and by the high Court of Parliament, only forbid by foreign laws, and canons of the Pope, coloured with a visour of the church, &c." 1562.†

The work seems to have been a reprint of Ponet's book against Gardiner and Martin, (first published in 1549, and again in 1556,) with the additions of Parker. In some copies of this book, according to Strype, in his Life of this prelate, "towards the conclusion are enlargements consisting of ten whole sheets, and about seventy-six pages. For this amplification is but in some few of the books, and left out in the rest, that it might be easier of sale;‡ and those few that were enlarged might be for the archbishop's own use to present to his friends; as it happened with his British Antiquities, some very few books whereof had his life, which all the

* Parker to Cecil in Strype's Appendix, No. XVII. p. 30. In Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church, [Edition 1653,] we are told that the Queen often visited the archbishop, and, on one occasion, being "feasted to her great satisfaction, at her parting from them, the archbishop and his wife being together, she gave him very special thanks, with gracious and honourable terms, and then looking on his wife, 'And you, (saith she,) madam I may not call you, and mistress I am ashamed to call you, so as I know not what to call you, but yet I do thank you.'"

† Strype's Parker, p. 505.

‡ Vide sheet PPP.

rest wanted.* But for the excellency of those matters contained in the additions, the book is most valuable. They give an historical account of the marriage of priests from before the Conquest, in the Saxon times, and bring it down to the reign of King Edward VI., out of the ancient writers of our own nation and the Saxon Chronologies;† and *some of the allegations are set down in the Saxon tongue.* To all is added an index, which is also wanting in the common books.‡ My readers will perhaps excuse this prolix detail, in making them acquainted with the first specimens of the Anglo-Saxon language printed in England, hitherto known.§

It is now well known that the Anglo-Saxons, long after their conversion to Christianity, and even as late as the eleventh century, entertained opinions on the subject of Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament, very similar to those professed by the reformed church of England. Before the Conquest, however, the heresy of Rome had already made inroads on the purer faith of the Anglo-Saxon church. About the commencement of the eleventh century, Ælfric wrote one or more homilies against this growing error. His homily, or "Sermon to be spoken to the people at Easter before they receive the holy housel," was first published in the year 1567, and republished by L'Isle in 1623, amongst other Saxon monuments. It contains the doctrine professed at that time in the Anglo-Saxon church on this point. "We receive now spiritually Christ's body, and his blood we drink, when we with true belief receive the holy housel. Now, certain men have often considered, how the loaf that is of corn prepared, and baked through the heat of fire, may be changed into Christ's body.

* Of the Antiquitates Britannicæ, 1571, it is supposed that twenty only were printed by John Daye. See Martin's Catalogue of privately printed books.

† An interlined copy by Archbishop Parker, of the Saxon Chronicle, is amongst his Collections bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

‡ Strype's Parker, 505.

§ My only authority for the statement in the text is Strype, but he describes the book and its contents so accurately, that it would appear he had seen it; and from personal inspection written the above account of it. Parker's book is rare, those with his additions must be much more so.

Now, to such men we say, that some things are said of Christ typically, some by way of certainty. A true thing it is, and certain, that Christ was born of a maiden, and of his own will he suffered death, and was buried, and on this day arose from death. He is called bread typically, and lamb and lion, and how else? Yet for all that, after his true nature, Christ is neither bread, nor lamb, nor lion. Why, then, is the holy housel called Christ's body or his blood, if it be not truly that which it is called? Verily the bread and the wine that are hallowed by the mass of the priests, one thing they show to human understandings outwardly, another thing they call up within believing minds. Outwardly they are seen to be bread and wine, both in appearance and taste, but they are truly, after the hallowing, Christ's body and his blood through a spiritual mystery."*

The same doctrine is to be found in a MS. of Saxon Ecclesiastical Constitutions, written about the time of the Conquest. "The husel is Christ's body, not bodily, but spiritually; not the body in which he suffered, but the body about which he spoke when he blessed the loaf and wine."† And, again, in the same: "Understand now, that as the Lord before his suffering might change the loaf to his body, and the wine to his blood spiritually, so the same is daily blessed through the hands of the priest, the loaf to his body, and the wine to his blood spiritually."‡

To their desire of controverting the errors of the church of Rome on this subject, have been primarily attributed the motives which actuated, and the exertions which distinguished, the Reformers of the sixteenth century. But although it was one, we have seen that it was not the only one, point in which the new challenged a comparison with the ancient faith. The archbishop, three years after the publication of his book on priests' marriages, and when the great Bible, which came out

* Ælfric's Sermon. L'Isle's Saxon Monuments, 1623. Kemble's Letter in Michel, p. 5.

† Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 159, printed from a MS. at Cambridge.

‡ Wilkins, p. 160. Wanley, Cat. MSS. A.-S. p. 111.

in 1572, was in preparation, distributed parts of the Old Testament to different bishops for the purpose of translation; to all of them at the same time he severally sent a request, that whilst making their visitations in their several dioceses, they would examine the books in their churches, and inform him what they were, and if among them any Saxon authors were found.* Some of the bishops in that age were of course unacquainted with the Saxon characters, and hence many of the treasures which they met with were returned, after a slight examination, to the repositories in which perhaps they had slept for centuries.

In 1565, we find a Mr Salisbury (elsewhere styled bishop of Man) writing to the archbishop, that in an old pamphlet at St Asaph, he had met with, as he supposed, a register or record respecting the marriage of priests; in which, having deciphered the words "*clerico uxorato*," he thought that the tract might be useful to him. But some canon told him there were *clerici* who were not priests: and in the year following, the archbishop writing to him says, "The tract is written in the speech of the old Saxons, whereof I have divers books and works, and have in my house those who do well understand them."†

In the year 1566, Gregory Doddes, dean of St. Peter's, Exeter, with the consent of his brethren the canons, sent him a copy of the four Gospels, with the Rubrics, in Anglo-Saxon, said to have once belonged to Bishop Leofric. The following year, a book containing a collection of Saxon homilies, which had belonged to the abbey of Tavistock, and found there by Robert Farrar, was presented to him by the earl of Bedford, whose servant Farrar was. Scory, bishop of Hereford, also sent him three Saxon books from the dean there, although what they were does not appear. Many Saxon books he procured from Robert Talbot, a great collector in the time of

* Strype's Parker.

† Strype's Life of Parker, p. 210. Among the MSS. in Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, is this letter of Salisbury, in which is the extract on the marriage of priests, and remarks on other customs of antiquity. It is dated 19th May 1565, [No. 114, p. 491.] Vide Nasmith's Catalogue, p. 154.

Henry VIII., and a friend and contemporary of Leland and Bale. Many of these books Talbot had obtained from Dr. Owen, physician to Henry VIII.

In 1568, when Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, visited the archbishop at London, the latter earnestly prayed him to search narrowly the library of his cathedral for the same purpose. Not long after his return, the bishop in writing to him says: "According to promise, I have ransacked our poore librarie of Sarisburie, and have founde nothing worthy the findinge, saving onely one booke written in the Saxon tongue, whiche I minde to sende to your grace by the nexte conveniente messinger. The booke is of reasonable bignesse, wel neare as thicke as the communion booke: your grace hathe three or four of the same size. It may be Alfricus, for all my coninge, but your grace will soone finde what he is."* We find that the book was subsequently sent. It was Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care.

With the true spirit of an antiquary, the archbishop bethought him of another method of obtaining a knowledge of the literary treasures of the kingdom, but which would meet with but little encouragement in modern times. This was by a circular letter, which he obtained from the privy council, (and for which he was probably indebted to his friend Secretary Cecil,) to notify to all persons the Queen's pleasure: "That the lord archbishop of Canterbury should have a special care and oversight in the conservation of such ancient records and monuments as were written of the state and affairs of the realm of England and Ireland, which were heretofore preserved and recorded, by special appointment of certain of her majesty's ancestors, in divers abbeys, to be treasure-houses, to keep and leave in memory such occurrences as fell in their times. And because divers of such writings were commen into the hands of private persons, and so partly remained obscure and unknown; they willed and required, that when the same archbishop should send his letters, or learned deputies, requesting

* Jewel to Parker, Wanley's Catalogue, 153. Strype's Parker, 264. Copies of Jewel's Letters are given in Wanley, 153.

to have a sight of any such records, that they would, at the contemplation of these letters, gently impart the same: not meaning to withdraw them from the owners, but for a time to peruse the same, upon promise or bond given of making restitution; so as, when need should require, resort might be made for the testimony that may be found in them; and also, by conference of them, the antiquity of the state of these countries might be restored to the knowledge of the world. Dated from Howard Place, (now called the Charter-house,) anno 1568, July 7."* Of this letter several copies were printed, and the archbishop engaged persons to collect books and MSS. One of those whom he employed, John Batman, has incidentally stated,† that in the space of four years he procured 6700 books for the archbishop, by his own travel.

We are told, in the work to which I have been so much indebted, that Parker kept persons in his family who could imitate any of the old characters to be found in MSS.; one of whom, the celebrated John Lyly, was an excellent calligraphist, and could counterfeit any antique writing. Him the archbishop employed to make old books complete that wanted some pages, that the character might seem the same throughout; and many of the books thus restored at present exist amongst the collection which he gave to the Public Library at Cambridge. Besides the completing imperfect copies of Anglo-Saxon books, he caused others to be transcribed, of which several are extant amongst his collections. But this multiplication of copies by transcription was too slow a process, and we find him about 1566 engaging the celebrated printer, John Day, to cut the Saxon types in brass, whom, he tells us in the preface to the Asser. Menevensis, was the *first* and *only* person in England who had cut such types.

* Strype's Parker. The names appended are, Nic. Bacon. C.S., Th. Norfolk, W. Northampton, R. Leicester, W. Howard, W. Cecil.

† In his Doom Warning all Men to Judgment, 1584.

CHAPTER III.

Besides Archbishop Parker, we must make honourable mention of the names of Joscelin and Nowel, Fox and Lambarde, as connected with the revival of the Anglo-Saxon language. John, son of Sir Thomas Joscelin, was the secretary and amanuensis of Archbishop Parker. Although his name is scarcely known in the literary annals of England, his labours in the field of English history may claim for him a rank, far higher than those who employed the stores which he collected, and afforded them a paternity. It is believed, that he collected the materials for the Antiquitates Britannicæ, published in 1572 by Parker, if he did not actually write the greater portion of that work. To those who feel an interest in the progress of the Anglo-Saxon, his name will be held in deserved respect, for he edited, and superintended the publication of the first entire work in that language and character ever printed, and thereby laid the foundation for its revival amongst us. This work was, "A Testimonie of Antiquitie, shewing the auncient Fayth of the Church of England, touching the Sacrament of the Body and Bloude of the Lord here publikely preached, and also receaved in the Saxons Tyme, above 600 yeares agoe. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, beneath S. Martyns."* To this work is prefixed a learned preface by Joscelin, containing some account of Ælfric, the author of the homily, and a statement of the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon church, at the time this homily was written. The Anglo-Saxon is given on the left side of the

* Without date, but in the year 1567. Strype says, about 1566.

page, the English translation on the right. At the end are the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in Anglo-Saxon, with an interlinear English translation.*

Amongst the works of Joscelin (assisted, as it would appear, by John, son of Archbishop Parker) is a Saxon-Latin Dictionary. The first part, from A to L, is said to have been collected from glossaries, laws, versions of the Gospels, the rule of St. Benedict, Gregory's Pastorals, the homilies of Ælfric, and other Saxon writings.† The second part contains the Saxon words from M to Z.‡ We have before seen that Parker kept persons in his family, who could imitate any of the Saxon characters to be found in MSS., to make old books complete. In this labour Joscelin was doubtless employed; his learning, and particularly his knowledge of the Saxon language, giving him an advantage over others. Some of these works, as completed by his hand, are now in the Cotton Library, and in the Public Library of Cambridge; in a few of which he has inserted various readings, and added notes.§ The labours of Joscelin seem to have been directed towards illustrating the ecclesiastical and civil history of his country. In a folio volume in the Cotton Library, consisting partly of transcripts by him from various sources on English history, there are two works by him, "Annales Angliæ," and "Historia Ecclesiastica Angliæ et de vitis Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensis."‖ In another volume in the same library is a short notice of the Saxon books which he had met with, and a catalogue of authors who had written on English history, and where extant.¶ It is also stated in the preface to Hickes's "Institutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ," that there existed a Saxon Grammar by Joscelin, which could not be found.

* In the scarce and curious volume entitled, "A Dissertation on Typographical Founders and Founderies," by E. R. Mores, 8vo, 1778, it is stated that this paschal homily of Ælfric was printed in 1567, in a small duodecimo, and again in another of the same size shortly afterwards; and he adds, "It is not generally known, that there are two editions of this book, *but we have them both*," p. 8, Note.

† MS. Cotton. Titus A. xv.

‡ Titus A. xvi.

§ Tib. B. iv. Nero A. i.

‖ Vitel. E. xiv.

¶ Nero C. iii.

That there was a Grammar is evident, from the index of it still remaining in the Bodleian Library.*

Of Laurence Noel, or Nowel, archdeacon of Derby, and dean of Lichfield, we possess, in our wretched compilations called "Biographical Dictionaries," little or nothing but what has been copied from the pages of Wood's Athenæ. We can only glean from manuscript, or otherwise obscure sources, a few particulars. Some years before the Saxon types had been cut by John Day, and there was some prospect of the Saxon language being perpetuated, by means of printing, Nowel had been engaged in learning the language, and before the year 1567 had compiled a Saxon-English Dictionary.† Whilst at Lincoln's Inn, he instructed William Lambarde in the knowledge of that tongue. He made a transcript of the Anglo-Saxon laws from the Textus Roffensis, intending apparently to publish it with an English translation, which was made about the same time by John Warnford.‡ This transcript, illustrated with notes, he presented, together with his Vocabularium Saxonicum, to his pupil Lambarde, and he farther rendered him assistance on the publication of the Archaionomia, or first collection of Anglo-Saxon laws ever printed. It was published in 1568, accompanied by the Latin version of Lambarde.§ The labours of Nowel did not end here; he made several collections from historical MSS. which are still extant in the Cotton Library. It would appear, from a note

* The title is, *Dictionariolum, sive Index Alphabeticus Vocum Saxonicarum (ni fallor) omnium, quas complectitur Grammatica clarissimi viri Domini* JOHANNIS JOSSELINI. *Item alius Index, &c.* Bosworth's Grammar, Pref. xxv. Edit. 1823. See Wanley's Catalogue Anglo-Saxon MSS. p. 101. Hickes, Institut. Gram. A.-S. Pref. p. 1.

† The original MS. of this work is now in the Bodleian Library, [MSS. Selden, Arch. B. supra, 63.] A beautiful transcript made by Junius is now amongst that learned antiquary's collections in the Bodleian. [No. xxvi.] It contains several additions by him. Somner made use of the original for the compilation of his Saxon Dictionary. Nowel is considered the first, and Lambarde the second, restorer of the Anglo-Saxon language.—Wood's Athenæ by Bliss.

‡ MS. Lansdown. 558. An English translation of the laws of Ina, Alured, Edward, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Canute, Edward the Confessor, &c. At the end is an explanation of difficult Saxon words.

§ Historical Account of Textus Roffensis, by S. Pegge, 4to, 1784.

of Lambarde, inserted in a blank page of the Saxon Vocabulary, that he had also given some attention to, and made collections for, illustrating the progress of the English language, after the Norman Conquest.*

In the Lansdowne Collection there is a "Letter from Lawrence Nowel, tutor to the young Earl of Oxford, to Sir William Cecill," complaining of the inaccuracy of the general maps of England, and stating his design of constructing maps of all the counties, if he should meet with Sir William's encouragement. June 1563.†

The third publication in Anglo-Saxon literature, which issued from the press of John Day, was the Gospels by Fox the Martyrologist.‡ The English translation, which is in the margin, is from the Bishop's Bible, somewhat altered to the Saxon idiom. The dedication to Queen Elizabeth, prefixed, makes us acquainted with the motives of the early Saxonists

* "For the degrees of the declination of the old Inglishe or Saxon Tongue, reade,

I. The lawes before the Conquest.

II. The Saxon Chronicle of Peterborough after the Conquest.

III. The Saxon writte of Henry III. to Oxfordshire, in ye little booke of old lawes.

IV. The Pater noster and crede of Rob. Grosted, in the booke of Patrices purgatorie, &c.

V. The rhythme of Jacob in the booke called Flos Florum.

VI. The chronicles called Brute, Gower, Chaucer, &c. By the wch and suchelike, it may appeare how, and by what steps our language is fallen from the old Inglishe, and drawen nearer to the Frenche. This may well be lightened by short examples taken from their bookes, and is meete to be discouered when this DICTIONARIE shal be emprinted. W. Lambarde, 1570." Wanley, 102. Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, i. 427.

† This design was probably superseded by the publication of Saxton's Maps of the English Counties, and of which a great number exist in the Bodleian Library, amongst Gough's Collections; but there is a collection in the Cotton Library, which may claim the attention of the English topographer. It is in Domitian. XVIII. "Variæ mappæ chorographicæ Hiberniæ, Scotiæ, Angliæ et Walliæ; quarum illæ quæ Angliam describunt, Saxonicis characteribus à laudato ut videtur Laur. Nowello exarantur."

‡ It is rarely to be met with; the title at length is, "The Gospel of the Fower Euangelistes, Translated in the Old Saxons tyme out of Latin into the Vulgare Toung of the Saxons, newly collected out of Auncient Monuments of the sayd Saxons, and now published for testimonie of the same. At London, printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate 1571. Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis per decennium." It was published at the expense of Archbishop Parker.

for their prosecution of this new study. After stating "what a controversie, among many controversies moe hath risen of late, in our dayes, whether it were conuenient the Scriptures of God to be put in our Englishe tounge," he enumerates the nations that possessed translations of the Scriptures into their own language, and of our own country adds: "If any doubt of the auncient usage thereof in England, whether they had the Scriptures in their language of old tyme, here he may have a proof of so much translated." He then details the translations made at various times before and after the Conquest, "as well before Wickliffe's tyme as since, unto the reign of Richard II.," and the sanction of the archbishops and clergy, for their perusal as well as for their being read to the people, as late as the commencement of the fifteenth century. It is evident from Fox's preface, that Archbishop Parker's principal object in promoting the publication of Anglo-Saxon books had relation to the reformed religion. And had it not been from the particular direction which the studies of Nowel, and, through him, of Lambarde, to the illustrating, from that language, of the topography of England, it is possible that, at the present day, we might have been seeking those helps to the study of it, which are now in such comparative abundance around us. In speaking of his patron, the archbishop, in connection with his own labours, Fox tells us, "We thought to exhibite the same firste to your Maiestie, and so by you to your subjects, *not so much for any great necessitie we sawe in that speach now to be used and practiced, being growen out of use and continuance;*" but that her Majesty's subjects might be convinced that those who laboured so earnestly to have the Scriptures in English were introducing no innovation, but rather were returning to what had been the custom of the English church for centuries. "Albeit, it may serue to no small good steede in courts, and for them that be learned in the lawes, whereby they may more readily understand many of their old words and termes, also very many deeds and charters of Princes giftes and foundations geven to the church and to Byshops seas, and other ecclesiastical foundations, wherein are seen and to be proued the old auncient bounds and limites of townes, of commons, of woods, of rivers, of fields,

and other such matters belonging to the same. Howbeit, not so much, therefore, we have published this treatise, *but especially to this end, that the said boke imprinted thus in the Saxons' letters may remaine in the church as a profitable example and president of olde antiquitie, to the more confirmation of your gracious procedinges now in the church agreable to the same.* Wherein we haue to see how much we are beholden to the reuerend and learned Father in God, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, a cheafe and a famous trauailler in thys Church of England, by whose industrious diligence and learned labours this booke, with others moe, hath bene collected and searched out of the Saxon monumentes, so likewise haue we to understand and conceave, by the edition hereof, how the religion presently taught and professed in the Church, at thys present, is no new reformation of thinges lately begonne, which were not before, but rather a reduction of the Church to the pristine state of olde conformitie which once it had, and almost lost by discontinuance of a few later yeares, as it is manifest to be proued not onely in thys cause of the vulgar translation of the Scriptures, but in other cases also of doctrine, as transubstantiation, of Priestes restraint from mariage, of receaving under one kinde, with many other pointes and articles of like qualitie newly thrust in, and the olde abolished by the clergie of Rome, whereof part hath bene sufficiently detected already by the godly diligence of the sayd archbishop above mentioned in his boke of the Saxon Sermon and *other treatises;* part likewise remain to be shewed and set forth shortly by the Lordes Almightie grace, if it shall please his goodness to adde a few yeares moe to this golden peace."* The works here promised by Fox never came out, but in the second English edition of his Martyrology, published in 1570, he has inserted Ælfric's Sermon against transubstantiation, and the two Epistles of Ælfric; to Wulfsine, bishop of Scyrburne, and to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, on the same subject. These are given in Saxon with an English translation.†

* Fox's Preface to the Saxon Gospels. 1571.

† These Saxon Monuments are, I believe, inserted in all the complete editions (of which there are eight from 1570 to 1684) of Fox's Martyrs. In the first edition of 1562–3 they did not appear. At least, having carefully

Besides the Latin translation of the Anglo-Saxon text in the Archaionomia, and the collections in English history already mentioned, Lambarde is known as the author of "The Perambulation of Kent, conteining the description, historie, and customes of that shyre. Collected and written (for the most part) in the yeare 1570, by W. L. of Lincolne's Inn, Gent., and nowe increased by the addition of some things which the author himselfe hath obserued since that time. 4to, 1576."* These additions appear to have been made from the Textus Roffensis, which MS., according to Hickes's account, Lambarde had never seen until the year 1573.† They consist of an account of the maintenance and support of Rochester Bridge, in Saxon and Latin, together with an English translation; Brihtric's will and other extracts, which are given in Saxon with Lambarde's English translation.‡

Some account has already been given of the share which Archbishop Parker had in the revival and promotion of Anglo-Saxon literature. In the year 1574 he published "Ælfredi Regis Res Gestæ" in a Latin text, but in Saxon types. It was printed by Day. In the Latin preface to this work, he tells us why he had employed the Saxon letter; "that scholars, when they had become acquainted with the character, might

examined a tolerably complete copy of the first edition, (which in a perfect state is excessively rare,) I was unable to find any thing bearing on the subject. The rarity of the earlier editions of Fox's Martyrs is attributed to the circumstance of their being chained to the desks in churches, for the reading of those who chose to take advantage of it. Some of these are now to be met with. This practice was not confined to Fox's Martyrs. A proclamation in 1541 was issued for the English Bible to be had in every church. Jewel's Apology was another book, which in its turn occupied the same place. How long the practice continued I do not know; the last with which I am acquainted is the folio edition of Jewel's works, 1611, a copy of which I saw last summer chained to the desk in Kingston Church, near Taunton, Somerset. It appears to have been much used, the leaves being thoroughly "dog's-eared."

* The history of this book, and the use which Archbishop Parker made of it on the Queen's visit to Canterbury, would afford materials for another page in a future edition of "The Curiosities of Literature."—See MS. Lansdown. No. 17. Strype's Parker.

† Hickes, Thesaurus, p. 288. Dissert. Epist. ad B. Shower.

‡ A further account of Lambarde, and of some portion of his collections in the possession of his descendants, may be found in Nichol's Bib. Top. Brit. vol. ii.

be led to study the Saxon writings." And in another place, "that it was worth the labour, to compare the language which we now use, with that ancient tongue which had in a manner become obsolete and extinct, from which it will be easy to collect the words and meaning, when the old and the new tongue are so much alike." We are told also that he employed Day to cut the Saxon types, and that he was the first and the only one then in England who had so done. In this preface appears the first notice, with which we are acquainted, of the Saxon school founded at Tavistock, and of which some account has already been given.* It was also the intention of Archbishop Parker to publish the Heptateuch and the Psalter in Anglo-Saxon. Fox mentions "Moyses bookes and David's Psalter some interlineally glossed with the Saxon tounge, which may hereafter be put in print."†

The name of Stowe, honest John Stowe, must also be mentioned as a labourer in the field of Anglo-Saxon learning. He was probably employed by Archbishop Parker to collect MSS., his known habits rendering him an especially fit person for that employment. Among the Lansdowne Collection is an octavo volume in the handwriting of Stowe, from the Liber de Hida, a Latin monkish chronicle formerly belonging to the abbey of Hide, or New Minster, near Winchester. Besides many particulars of Saxon history, it contains copies

* The notice is too long for insertion here, but see it in Parker's Preface, 1574, and in Dugdale's Monasticon, new edition, vol. ii. 492. The editors of the Monasticon throw some doubt upon the existence of this Saxon school, from their inability to discover any notice of such a foundation among the documents relating to this Abbey. Some account of the fate of the building itself may not be uninteresting. Browne Willis, writing in 1718, tells us "the Saxon school is now employed to hold hay, corn, &c."—(Hist. Mitred Parl. Abbeys, i. 171.) Gibson, in his additions to Camden, [1722,] asserts, "the school in which the Saxon tongue was taught is still in being, and (as I have heard) there was also in the beginning of the late civil wars a Saxon grammar printed at Tavistoke."—(Gibson's Camden, 1722.) Gough, in his additions to Camden, says, "The foundation here for the encouragement of Saxon literature probably sunk at the Reformation, though, had the divines of that time been aware how much the doctrines of the early Saxon church corresponded with those they were introducing, it would have been for their interest to have kept it up . . . The chapter-house and Saxon school were pulled down in 1736, to build a house for the Duke of Bedford's steward."—(Gough's Camden, 1789.)

† Preface to Saxon Gospels, 1571.

in Latin and English of the wills of Kings Alfred, Edred, and Athelwold, with that of Duke Athelmar. At fol. 47, Stowe has inserted the following memorandum: "That there be in the boke of Hide in great and lardge parchment written, dyvars of thes thinges before written, and many other testaments of certeyn Saxon kings, which be writen in bastard Saxon, and translated into Latyn and Englysh," &c.

In the year 1568, Stowe fell under the displeasure of the Queen; for in his "travaile" he had become the possessor of certain unlawful books. The vindictive temper of the Queen, in enforcing, as far as lay in her power, a subserviency to her *will*, spared neither friend nor foe. The Privy Council sent their letters to Grindal, bishop of London, to search his house, and examine his books. To this office Grindal appointed his chaplain Watts, who was assisted by two others, and on the 21st February 1568, Watts wrote to that prelate an account "of what books he found at Mr. Stowe's house in consequence of his search," and accompanied it by "A Catalogue of such unlawful books as were found therein."* Three days afterwards, Grindal wrote to Cecil with the catalogue, which included only "such books as had been lately set forth in the realm or beyond sea for defence of Papistry."† But from the letter of Watts it appears that Stowe had "a great sort of foolish fabulous books of old print, as of Sir Degory Tryamour, &c., a great parcel also of old written English Chronicles, both in parchment and paper, some long, some short. Also certain phantastical Popish books, printed in the old time, with many such, all written in old English in parchment."‡ We might almost have forgiven the search, had they but left us a Catalogue of those books, which, from not subserving their purpose, were specially omitted.

William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, a man of considerable note in the reign of Elizabeth, seems to have been somewhat of an amateur in the study of the Saxon. There is an original letter from him to Sir Nicolas Bacon, in the

* MS. Lansdown. 717.
† Ibid. No. 11.
‡ Ibid. No. 11.

Lansdowne Collection, containing divers extracts from "an old booke written in the Saxon tounge made by Adelstane, Edmund, and Edgar, kings of this realme," concerning terms used in ancient charters, but more particularly relating to the forest laws.* The names of Cecil, of Hatton, of Tate, and of others also, might here be adduced, as having assisted the labours and exertions of those whom we have particularly named as the revivers of the Anglo-Saxon language in England.

From the period which we have been describing, a comparative blank for many years succeeds, and with the exception of a Saxon charter of William the Conqueror, printed in Holinshed's Chronicles in 1587, (and the Saxon monuments in Fox's Martyrs,) nothing more appeared in that language in England during the sixteenth century. This charter, which is printed in Roman letter, is a curiosity, as affording some confirmation of the statement that no other Saxon types than those of Day were cut before the opening of the seventeenth century. In the first volume of "Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Voyages, &c. of the English Nation, 1599-1600," there is a translation, from the Anglo-Saxon, of the "Voyages of Octher, made to the east parts beyond Norway, reported by himself unto Alfred the famous king of England, about the year 890." Following this is "The voyage of Octher out of his countrey of Halgoland into the Sound of Denmarke, unto a part called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rostoke;" and in the page following we have an account of "Wolstan's navigation within the east sea, (within the Sound of Denmarke,) from Hetha to Trussa, which is about Dantzic."† The English translation, which is here only inserted, is said to have been made for the work by Dr. Caius; but its merits as an accurate translation have never been estimated very highly, and now is considered valueless.

In the year 1597, King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon preface to St. Gregory's Pastoral Care was printed, (apparently from Parker's

* MS. Lansdown. 255. It is dated 8th June 1571, fo. 231.
† Hakluyt's Coll. Voyages, vol. i. p. 6, 7, 8. Ed. 1599-1600.

edition of Asser, 1574,) with an English interlinear translation, at Leyden, in a volume entitled, "De Literis et Lingua Getarum sive Gothorum."* In 1603, Camden, in his Collection of English Historians, reprinted this preface, apparently from the same source. The Saxon is printed in a Roman letter, with an interlinear English translation. In 1610, a little tract was published, entitled, "Decalogi, Orationis, et Symboli Saxonica versio vetustissima Marquardi Freheri Notis exposita." This was also printed in a Roman letter. So that the claims recently put forth as to the origin of this practice among Continental scholars of the present day cannot be sustained.

It is difficult to account for the subsidence of the Anglo-Saxon learning at this period, unless it may be attributed to the prevailing belief, that, having served the principal end for which it was called anew into life, it was no longer of any value. At this period, one portion, and that to us, perhaps, the most interesting, of the Anglo-Saxon writings, had not been made known to us. The early Saxonists apparently did not conceive that a simple-minded people like the Anglo-Saxons (but whose language, and whose life itself, was so essentially poetic) could possess any poetical writings. Or that, when the art of writing was general amongst one of their distinguished classes, that they should not have employed it in recording, in heroic song, the deeds of their ancestors; or the glories and joys of that faith which they had so zealously, and in such singleness of heart, received. Yet so it was, and we owe to a foreign scholar domesticated amongst us, nearly a century after, the first poem in that language ever printed. Without grammar, without dictionary, with imperfect means of access to MSS., by which a tolerable collection of words could be formed, but which, notwithstanding, they found means of effecting, and with far fewer means, and more difficulties than we now can distinctly imagine, how strongly must the patriotic feeling have actuated the Saxon scholars of the sixteenth century in the pursuit of this study.

* A copy of this very rare work is amongst the books bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Gough. Vide Bandinel's Catalogue.

The history of their labours may add another page to the annals of those who have engaged in the "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties."

At the opening of the seventeenth century we find almost a blank in regard to the Saxon language. We cannot pass by one individual, however, without giving a brief notice of his life and labours; this was William Camden. In the publication of the preface to Gregory's Pastorale already mentioned, he appears to us as a promoter of the Saxon tongue. In the "Britannia," which bears his name, we have many details of Saxon history; and in the "Remaines concerning Britaine," the first edition of which was published in 1605, we have some chapters which treat of the Saxon tongue, and of the derivation of our names and surnames, as well as names of places from it. Although from the progress which we have made in the studies of which he has there treated, we may consider it now of but little value, yet it is probable that the "Remaines" originated more than one work, which otherwise we had been without. There is one thing, however, in Camden which we cannot but look upon with admiration, his hearty, sterling English feeling. When he writes of the people it is, "this warlike, victorious, stiff, stout, and vigorous nation." If he speaks of the climate, "the ayre is most temperate and wholsome;" if of the desirableness of its location in the ocean stream, "it is walled and garded by the sea with safe havens, so that it may be termed the *Lady of the Sea.*" If he speaks of the nature of the soil, then it is "fertile of all kinds of grain, rich in minerals, coals, woods, abundant in pasture," the garden of the world. If of the language, "the ground of our own tongue appertaineth to the old Saxon. ... The Italian is pleasant, but without sinews, as a still fleeting water. The French delicate, but even nice as a woman, scarce daring to open her lips for fear of marring her countenance. The Spanish majestical, but fulsome, running too much on the O, and terrible like the divell in a play. The Dutch manlike, but withal very harsh, as one ready at every word to pick a quarrel. Now we in borrowing from them give the strength of consonants to the Italian, the full sound of words

to the French, the varieties of terminations to the Spanish, and the mollifying of more vowels to the Dutch, and so (like bees) gather the honey of their good qualities, and leave the dregs to themselves. How then can the language, which consisteth of all these, sound other than most full of sweetness?"*

He has attempted also to give us a plan, if nothing more, for a history of the language, by printing a chronological series of versions of the Lord's Prayer. The first is a Saxon version, and the earliest known, (from the Durham Book,) followed by another Saxon version written about A. D. 900, one of two translations that he had met with, the various readings being given in the margin. The Saxon, printed in a Roman letter, is interlined with a literal English translation. After these follow other versions of the times of Henry II., Henry III., and Richard II. "More I could particulate," adds he, "but this would appear most plentifully, if the labours of the learned gentlemen Master Lawrence Nowell of Lincolnnes Inne, who first, in our time, recalled the studie hereof; Master William Lambert, (Lambarde,) Master I. Joscelin, Master Fr. Tate, were once published. Otherwise it is to be feared, that devouring Time, in few years, will utterly swallow it without hope of recovery."† We might imagine, but cannot describe, the delight of Camden, could he now revisit the scene of his labours, and note the prosperous state of historical literature compared to the times when he was a sojourner on the earth; or in witnessing the patriotic labours of a Society honouring themselves and rendering homage to him by the adoption of his name.

Although "Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most renowned English nation" is more the book of a past age than of our own, yet it contains many things, by no means unworthy a passing notice, relative

* Camden's Remaines, 23, 27. Edit. 1657. This work must have been very popular in its day, seven or eight editions having been printed in about seventy years, the last being in 1674.

† From the similarity of the plan of Dr. Johnson with that of Nowel, and after him of Camden, it is not unlikely that he derived from one or the other the design which he partially carried into effect in the "History of the English Language" prefixed to his Dictionary.

to the customs, laws, and language of the Saxons in Britain. The collection of Saxon words at the end of the work was thought of sufficient importance by Somner to be made use of, when he was compiling his Saxon Dictionary.* It is almost, if not the first collection of Saxon words printed, and consists of perhaps from four to five hundred. Besides this we have a chapter on "The Etymology of the ancient Saxon proper names of men and women," and another, "How, by the Surnames of the Families of England, it may be discerned from whence they take their original, to wit, whether from the ancient English Saxons, or from the Danes and Normans." There is also a chapter "Of the great antiquity of our ancient English Tongue, and of the propriety, worthiness, and amplitude thereof." The author gives us the opinion of Becanus, who believed the Saxon language to be the most ancient in the world, yea, the same that Adam spoke in Paradise. But he adds, "In conference one day with Abraham Ortelius, I asked him if he thought Becanus did indeed believe so, and he told me, that he verily thought Becanus did so believe; and added, that many might laugh at such a conceit, but none could confute it;" and hence Verstegan concludes, that Ortelius himself "was inclined unto Becanus his conceit."†

In the year 1623, William L'Isle published "A Saxon Treatise on the Old and New Testament, written about the time of King Edgar (700 years agoe) by Ælfricus Abbas, thought to be the same that was afterward Archbishop of Canterburie, whereby appeares what was the Canon of Holy Scripture here then receiued, and that the Church of England had it so long agoe in her mother tongue. Now first published in print with English of our times," from a MS. in Sir Robert Cotton's Library. To this was appended a second edition of the Paschal Homily and other Saxon monuments, first published in 1567, by Archbishop Parker, which have already been noticed In L'Isle's preface we have a curious and interesting account

* Verstegan's work, like Camden's Remains, appears to have been a favourite book in the seventeenth century, five editions having been published in a few years; the first in 1605, and the last in 1673.

† Verstegan, p. 207. Ed. 1673.

of the method in which he studied and finally mastered the Saxon language. After a detail of many things connected with this subject, and in particular of the faith of the English church, he continues:—"Lo here in this field of learning, this orchard of the old English church, have I set myselfe on worke, where, though I plant not anew, I may save at least a good old tree or two that were like to be lost: The due consideration hereof first stirred up in me an earnest desire to know what learning lay hid in this old English tongue; for which I found out this uneasie way, first to acquaint myselfe a little with the Dutch both high and low; the one by original, the other by commerce allied; then to read awhile for recreation all the old English I could finde, poetry or prose, of what matter soever. And divers good books of this kinde I got that were never yet published in print; which ever the more ancient they were, I perceived came nearer the Saxon: But the Saxon, (as a bird flying in the aire farther and farther, seems lesse and lesse,) the older it was became harder to bee understood. At length I lighted on Virgil, Scotished by the Reverend Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkell, and uncle to the Earle of Angus, the best translation of that poet that ever I reade: and though I found that dialect more hard than any of the former, (as neerer the Saxon, because farther from the Norman,) yet with helpe of the Latine I made shifte to understand it, and read the booke more than once from the beginning to the end. Whereby, I must confess, I got more knowledge of that I sought than by any of the other..... Next then I read the Decalogue, &c., set out by Fraerus in common character, and so prepared came to the proper Saxon; which differeth but in seven or eight letters from the pica Roman; and therein reading certaine Sermones and the foure Euangelistes set out and Englished by Mr. Fox, so encreased my skill, that at length (I thanke God) I found myself able (as it were to swim without bladders) to understand the untranslated fragments of the tongue scattered in Master Camden and others, by him some, and some by Sir Henry Savill set forth: as also those in Thomas of Walsingham, Caius, and Lambard, with certaine old charters that I met with among

the King's Records, and in the Coucher books of monasteries; yet still ventring not far from the shore. At last waxing more able through use, I tooke heart to put forth and dive into the deep among the mere Saxon monuments of my worthily respected kinsman Sir H. Spelman, my honourable friend Sir Rob. Cotton, and of our Libraries in Cambridge. So far about went I for a guide, who now (thanks be to God) am able to lead others a neerer way. There also I found, well recorded, all manner of humane learning, which I leave for others, or for another time, but I could not so pass by these ancient testimonies of the religion of this land."*

According to the account which L'Isle gives in his preface, he had intended the publication of other Saxon works. In one place, after stating what he had already done, he adds, "As I mean to do, ere long, (if it may be accepted,) a part of the Bible which our Saxon ancestors left us in their own tongue." And elsewhere, after telling us what "good Master Fox" had already set forth, (the Saxon Gospels,) "by the grace of God I meane, ere long, to let the world know what is more remaining, as more I have seene, both in our Universitie Libraries, and that of Sir Robert Cotton."† In another place we are told, "we lacke but a Grammar, which our Saxon ancestors neglected not, as appears by that of this Ælfricus, yet extant in many faire-written copies. The like if we had for the language of our time, it would give us occasion, either in wording or sentensing, the principall parts thereof, to looke backe a little into this outworne dialect of our forebeers; which England hath kept best in writing, Scotland in speech. I speake not, I wish not this to the end we should again call this old garbe into use; but to holde where we are, without borrowing when we need not; and that, whoso will, may the more easily come to the understanding these so venerable handwritings and monuments of our owne antiquity, without which we can neither know well our laws, nor oure histories, nor our owne names, nor the names of places,

* Preface to Treatise on the Old and New Testament, 1623.
† Ibid.

and bound markes of our country, so fitly given by the Saxon."*

The works promised by L'Isle he never lived to publish. But it would appear from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, that he had prepared for publication "The Saxon English Remains of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Job, and other portions of the Old Testament of the version of Abbot Ælfric," which he had accompanied with an English translation.† He also prepared for the press another work, which received the *imprimatur* of the licenser of the Cambridge press, and, according to some, a copy of it was printed. This work was the "Saxon English Psalter, to preserve the memory of our mother Church and Language, and to further the study of our Antiquities and Lawes; out of MSS. most anciently remaining still in the University Library, and that of Trinity and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: Taken and fitted with the phrase of our time, not as a new English translation, but as the oldest of all, to th' aforesaid end, received and made known by W. L., late of the King's, there." To this were added, "Certain Prayers of the Saxon times, taken out of the Nune's Rules of St. James' Order, in Benet College Library."‡ In the year 1638 appeared (as is supposed) a second impression of the "Treatise on the Old and New Testament," with the title, "Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue," &c.; but, from a careful collation of the two works, it will be evident that the edition of 1638 has merely a new title-page.§

The labours of L'Isle seem again to have revived the study of the Saxon tongue amongst us. We have seen with what patient industry he set about, and the circuitous route by

* L'Isle's Preface.

† MS. in Bib. Bodl. Laud. E. 33. Wanley, Cat. Anglo-Saxon MSS. 100.

‡ Ibid. D. 85. Wanley, 100, 101.

§ L'Isle also published a translation of Du Bartas in four books 4to, 1637. And many years afterwards appeared "A History of some parts of the Bible, with Meditations and Prayers in Verse," said to be by him, 4to, 1658. As he died in 1637, he could not have been employed by Archbishop Parker to edit and publish Saxon monuments, which has recently so often been asserted.

which he gained, a sufficing knowledge of it. But whoever acquired a knowledge of that language at the period of which we are writing, must have adopted a similar plan, as we find in the case of Sir Henry Spelman, who did not learn Saxon until a late period of life. We are informed by his biographer, that, "finding many of our laws since the Conquest, and that many obsolete terms in our Latin historians, were Saxon, he despaired of accomplishing his work (the Glossary) for want of understanding the language." And again, "The language at that time was not to be learnt without great difficulty. Little assistance was to be expected from conversation in a study which few people in that age regarded. Nor had he the directions either of grammar or dictionary, as we are at this day accommodated with both, very accurate in their kinds.* However, he set in earnest about it, and though, I think, he never thoroughly conquered it, yet (under so many inconveniences) it is a greater wonder that he attained so good a knowledge, than that he did not make himself an absolute master of it."† And, speaking of the reasons which led him to found the Saxon lecture at Cambridge, his biographer continues:—"The revival of the old Saxon tongue ought to be reckoned a good piece of service to the study of Antiquities. He had found the excellent use of that language in the whole course of his studies, and much lamented the neglect of it, both at home and abroad; which was so general that he did not then know one man in the world who perfectly understood it. '*Paulatim* (says he) *ita exhalavit animam nobile illud majorum nostrorum et pervetustum idioma; ut in universo* (*quod sciam*) *orbe, ne unus hodie reperiatur, qui hoc scite perfecteve calleat; pauci quidem qui vel exoletas literas usquequaque noverint.*' Hereupon he settled a Saxon lecture in the University of Cambridge, allowing L.20 per annum to Mr. Abraham Whelock, who tells us, (Ded. ad Thom. Adamsium ante Bedam,) that, upon his advice and encouragement, he spent

* Alluding to Hickes's Grammar and Somner's Dictionary.

† Bishop Gibson's Life of Sir H. Spelman, prefixed to his Collection of Spelman's English Works.

the best part of seven years in the study of that language. This stipend was intended to be made perpetual, but both he and his eldest son dying in the compass of two years, and the civil wars breaking out, and their estates also being sequestered, the family became incapable of accomplishing that design. Nor, indeed, was that a time for settlements of this kind, when such a storm threatened the Universities, and the revenues which belonged to them."*

After he had acquired a tolerable knowledge of Saxon, he commenced the publication of his Glossary. One or two sheets were printed off as a specimen, and, receiving the approbation and encouragement of his literary friends, he proceeded in the work. Although not immediately connected with our subject, the history of this book satisfactorily shows that very little encouragement was given to such studies at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Having prepared the first part of his Glossary, "he offered the whole copy to Mr. Bill, the King's printer, desiring in return only L.5 in consideration of his labour, and that in books." But the bookseller declined the offer, "knowing it to be upon a subject out of the common road, and not likely to prove a saleable work." Sir Henry therefore published it at his own cost; and, eleven years after this, we learn that the greater part of the impression of the first part (extending from A to L)

* Gibson's Life of Sir H. Spelman, prefixed to his English Works, Ed. 1723. "Through the kindness of our registrary, the Rev. Jos. Romilly," says Mr. Kemble, "I am enabled to give the following account of the manner in which this lecture was meant to be established. The Vice-Chancellor and the Master of Trinity were to have presented Mr. A. Whelock to the vicarage, etc. of Middleton, which was to be conveyed to them by Sir H. Spelman in trust for that purpose. This vicarage was always to be in the gift of the two trustees, who, upon a vacancy, were to present their vicar to Sir Henry's descendant, and, if he neglected to admit the presentee within four months, the Bishop was to do it for him. The vicar was to deliver annually two lectures—one on Saxon Learning, the other on the Old Church History and Creed of England. Sir H. Spelman's letter to Whelock, dated 1640, states, that the Bishop of Ely and the Archbishop of Armagh had warmly espoused the scheme. Together with this letter is a draught of the conveyance intended. But the whole matter seems to have had no result, for our records say nothing of any grace on the subject: and probably the allowance mentioned above by Bishop Gibson was afterwards made by Sir Henry, on failure of his original plan."—Kemble's Letter in Michel's Bibliotheque Anglo-Saxonne, 9, 10.

remained unsold, till, in 1637, two booksellers took it off his hands.* But this discouragement did not relax his labours, and, as if foreseeing the value with which posterity would view them, he continued amassing materials for illustrating the civil and ecclesiastical history of his country. In 1639, the first volume of his Collection of English Councils, embracing the period from the planting of Christianity to the Norman Conquest, was published. He had also made collections for continuing the work from that epoch to the time of Henry VIII., and which, in a second volume, with additions by Stephens and Sir W. Dugdale, were published under the superintendence of the latter in 1664. A third volume, continuing it to his own time, was originally intended.

It appears from Gibson's Life that we owe to Sir Henry Spelman the original suggestion of the "Monasticon Anglicanum," and that he furnished a part of the materials for that work. "He was also a great favourer of Sir W. Dugdale, who had been introduced to him by Sir Simon Archer. At that time Mr. Dodsworth (who was greatly assisted by Sir Henry) had got together a vast collection of records relating to the foundation of the monasteries in the Northern part of the kingdom. Sir Henry thought these might be improved into a Monasticon Anglicanum, and, lest the design should miscarry by Mr. Dodsworth's death, he prevailed upon Mr. Dugdale to join him in so commendable a work, promising to communicate his transcripts of Foundation Charters belonging to several monasteries in Norfolk and Suffolk. For his further encouragement, he recommended him to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marshal of England, as a person well qualified to serve the King in the Office of Arms. Accordingly, upon his character of him (seconded by the importunity of Sir Christopher Hatton) he was settled in the Herald's Office, which gave him an opportunity to fix in London, and from the many assistances there, to compile the laborious volumes which he afterwards published."† Such

* Gibson's Life of Spelman, prefixed to his English Works.
† Ibid.

was the encouragement which this distinguished character gave to the study of English history and antiquities, and, in particular, to the Anglo-Saxon learning; and, therefore, though we cannot, with his biographer, attribute its revival entirely to him, inasmuch as labourers were in the field before him, as well as with him, by the foundation of a Saxon Lecture in one of the Universities, he gave to it a new feature of interest and encouragement, and therefore is entitled to a high rank amongst the promoters of Anglo-Saxon Literature in England.

In the year 1640, Sir John Spelman published the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalter, with an interlinear Latin translation, another book, useful in its kind, added to the few already printed. This work he dedicated to Archbishop Laud, whom he praises for a preserver of ancient MSS. and a patron of the Saxon tongue. Archbishop Usher was another promoter of this study. We are told that it was he who first moved Sir Henry Spelman to found the Saxon lecture at Cambridge, and made the proposal to Sidney College; that he recommended Whelock to that office, advising him the method of reading the Saxon Gospels, and gave him directions and encouragement in the publication of Bede. The same learned prelate also communicated to Junius a MS. copy of Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase, and subsequently promoted the publication of that work. We shall presently mention, also, (when giving an account of the labours of Somner,) the encouragement which the Saxon Dictionary received at his hands.

The reasons which induced Sir Henry Spelman's choice of Whelock, as Saxon professor, are not very apparent, (unless from the recommendation of Usher just mentioned,) seeing that he was previously unacquainted with the language; but Kennet, in his life of Somner, informs us, that Whelock "had assisted Sir Henry in some transcripts of that tongue when at Cambridge." Accordingly, to carry into effect the intention of the founder "to promote the study of the Saxon tongue, either by reading it publicly, or by the edition of Saxon MSS.

and other books;"* Whelock, in 1643, published Bede's Ecclesiastical History, with the Anglo-Saxon version of King Alfred. To this he added the Saxon Chronicle, from a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, collated with another MS. in the Cotton Library, with his own Latin translation.† In the following year, he published a new edition of Lambarde's Archaionomia, (corrected by himself in six hundred places,) to which he added the laws of William I. in Norman and Latin, and of Henry I. in Latin, and two distinct Glossaries; the Latin translation of Lambarde (with slight corrections) being retained. Whelock also promised the world a Saxon Dictionary, which indolence or death prevented him from accomplishing; the materials which he amassed for it exist in a collection of words from Bede, formerly in the possession of N. Batteley, and now in the British Museum.‡

John de Laet, of Antwerp, a friend of Junius, once intended an edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, or at least of those which had not before been printed. A transcript from the Textus Roffensis was made for him by Sir Henry Spelman, and he published the laws of Ethelbert, Hlothære, and Edric, at Antwerp, in 1640, in a Latin translation. He had also (as we are led to infer from a letter of Sir Simonds D'Ewes to Somner) projected an Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, but apparently little or no progress was made, as we hear no more of it.

In the year 1650, Dr. Meric Casaubon published his trea-

* In the Catalogue of the Harleian Library are mentioned, "Sir Henry Spelman's Propositions concerning the British and Saxon Lecture to be conferred upon Mr. Abraham Wheelock, anno 1640." [Baker's Coll. vol. xix.] MS. Harl. 7046. In the same Library will be found a Collection of Letters to Whelock from Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Thomas Adams, &c. concerning the Saxon and Arabic Lecture, with other particulars and Letters to Whelock. [Baker's Coll. vol. xiv.] MS. Harl. 7041.

† From certain papers of Gerard Langbaine, in the Bodleian Library, it would appear that it had been his intention to print an edition of the Saxon Chronicle, employing for his text the Codex Laud, but finding Whelock already engaged on the work, he relinquished it.—*Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle*, 183.

‡ MS. Harl. 761. Lexicon Saxonico-Latinum, maxima ex parte ex Bedæ Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ versione Saxonica, studio et diligentia Abrahami Wheloci Collectum. Wanley, 303.

tise, "De Quatuor Linguis Commentationis, pars prior." This first part only on the "Hebrew and Saxon Languages" saw the light. In this work he has traced (as he believed) many Saxon words to their original in the Hebrew. He has also incidentally given us some account of the state of Saxon learning and its promoters in his time. In the "Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem," 1652, was printed a short poem, "De situ Dunelmiæ," in the Saxon language and characters, which has since been often reprinted. The next work we have to mention (and of which an analysis here would be entirely out of place) is the great collection of Dodsworth, Dugdale, and others, entitled "Monasticon Anglicanum." In this work are many Saxon charters of foundations, together with boundaries of lands in Saxon, and which so often accompanied the Latin charters of our Anglo-Saxon kings. In the "History of St. Paul's Cathedral," by Sir William Dugdale, published in 1658, also appeared a few Saxon charters.

To Francis Junius, son of the celebrated divinity professor at Leyden, are we indebted for the publication of the first poem (except the short one above mentioned) in the Anglo-Saxon language. Born at Heidelberg in 1589, and educated by his father, he at first intended to engage in the profession of arms, but subsequently applied to study with great attention. In 1620, at the age of thirty-one, he came into England, and was received into the family of the Earl of Arundel, (for which he was principally indebted to the friendship of Laud, then bishop of St. David's,) and in which he continued thirty years. During this period, and for some years afterwards, he occasionally visited the Bodleian Library for the furtherance of his studies. Observing there some Saxon books of great antiquity, which lay about neglected, he determined on taking advantage of them to learn that language, to which he was still further inclined, because it would enable him to discover many etymologies in the Dutch, English, and German. He afterwards applied himself solely to the study of the Northern languages, in which he made great progress. This passion for the acquisition of languages never left him. When far

advanced in life, understanding that in West Frisia there were some villages in which the ancient Saxon tongue was preserved, he went and resided there for two years. In 1674 he returned to England, to the end that he might peruse such English Saxon books which he had not yet seen, especially those in the Cotton Library, as well as elsewhere. In the following year he went to Oxford, where he resided in the family of Dr. Thomas Mareschall, principally for the opportunity of visiting his favourite Bodleian; but finding old age creeping upon him, he removed to Windsor, where, in the family of the learned Isaac Vossius, his nephew, he resided but a short time before he died.

The first publication of Junius in Saxon literature was Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase, which was printed at Amsterdam in 1655, in a Saxon text and letter, without translation or notes. The original MS. of this poem was the property of Archbishop Usher, who presented it to Junius, by whom, with the rest of his MSS., it was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library.* In the same library, amongst his collections, is a MS. Index to Cædmon by him, but which has never been published. We are greatly indebted to this scholar for the zeal which he displayed in the collection and transcription of glossaries of every kind that he met with, for the illustration of the Teutonic languages. He had apparently, as early as 1654, intended to publish an Anglo-Saxon Glossary. In a letter to Selden, dated May 8, 1654, from Amsterdam, he writes, "Haveing met here in these our parts with four MS. glossaries, &c., I begin to think myself now so well instructed with good subsidyes as that I shal be bold to try how to ad something to what Goldastus and Freherus have commented in that kind. In the meane while, I have here Anglo-Saxon types, (I know not whether you call them punchons,) a cutting, and they will be matriculated and cast within the space of seven or eight weeks at farthest. As soon as they come to my hands, I will send you some little speci-

* Preface to Thorpe's Cædmon, xiii. 8vo, 1832.

men of them, to the end I might know how they will be liked in England, and afterwards goe in hand with the forementioned glossaries," &c. In 1655, he published the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels at Dordrecht, with the notes of Dr. Thomas Mareschall, (whose tutor in the Saxon language he had been,) and a Gothic glossary.* The types which had been used in the printing of this work and Cædmon he brought into England, and in the year 1677, together with others, were by him presented to the University of Oxford.†

Many of the works of Junius still remain in manuscript in the Bodleian Library. The Etymologicon Anglicanum was published by Lye, in two volumes folio, 1750. His great work, the Glossary of five Northern Languages, Dr. Fell caused to be transcribed for the press in nine folio volumes, [but which has never been published. There is a copy of Somner's Dictionary, corrected and illustrated with great additions by him. Amongst his collections are several Saxon glossaries, together with other works on Saxon literature, illustrated with notes.‡ Their number and variety display the unwearied industry of his character, which no difficulty, no labour, caused him to relax from. Blessed with an excellent constitution, and continual health, which temperance and early rising continued to him till his death, he devoted the greater part of his time to his favourite studies, and in his works has left us a character of learning, that few in our time, with the few advantages that he possessed, may hope to excel.

Amongst the contributors to Anglo-Saxon literature, about

* A second edition of this work, if we credit the title-page, was printed at Amsterdam in 1684; but it appears to be the same work with a new title-page and dedication. Dr. Dibdin says, in speaking of the Dordrecht edition, "I suspect that this book was in fact printed at Oxford; the types and paper clearly indicate it." Ædes Althorpianæ, i. 121, quoted by Michell, 88. The Saxon types of Junius not being in England in the year 1665, it is difficult to account for the printing of a work with them at Oxford in that year; for soon after that we have collateral evidence that the Gospels in Anglo-Saxon and Gothic had been printed *somewhere* under the care of Junius and Mareschall.

† Edw. Rowe-Mores's Dissertation on Type Founders, p. 16.

‡ For a particular account of the collections of Junius, see Wanley's Catalogue.

this period, the names of Selden and Sir Simonds D'Ewes should not be forgotten. The latter, in particular, made very extensive collections for illustrating the civil and ecclesiastical history of the British Isles; which are now preserved in the Harleian Library. Amongst these is a large collection of Saxon charters, transcribed from various sources, and a transcript of the Saxon Laws. The Lexicons and Glossaries of Junius he transcribed, or caused to be transcribed, apparently for the purpose of digesting them into a Saxon-English Dictionary; although it does not appear that any portion of the work was printed. The first notice respecting the Saxon studies of D'Ewes is in a letter from Sir W. Boswell, in December 1636, to him, who mentions a little Saxon vocabulary, from the Gospels, and a few other printed tracts; at the same time referring his correspondent to the more valuable collection of words by Joscelin, then in the library of Sir Thomas Cotton; and to another made by William L'Isle.* In the letters of Whelock, Spelman Professor at Cambridge, to D'Ewes, there are several notices respecting the Saxon works intended for publication. The Lexicon projected by the latter appears to have been a similar one afterwards completed by Somner; a Saxon-Latin-English one. Towards this work he had offers of help from Whelock and others. There is a letter from John Walden to Sir Simonds, desiring his instructions about the printing of his Saxon Lexicon, by which it would appear that considerable progress had been made in it.† A letter from Sir William Dugdale indicates that a work on Coins, and an edition of the Saxon Laws, in addition to the Lexicon, had been in contemplation: and in another letter of his to D'Ewes, he expresses himself gratified that "Mr. Dugard is like to go on so effectively with Ælfricke." It is possible that a want of proper types may have for some time prevented this scheme from taking effect, and the troubles which soon afterwards arose between the King and Parliament entirely suspended it.

* MS. Harl. 374, Art. 102. † Ibid. 374, Art. 88.

In fact, so terrified was Whelock on hearing that the Scots were committing ravages about Newcastle, that he contemplated secreting the Saxon MSS. somewhere under ground, in a place of safety, and fleeing to the Continent.* The Saxon Laws, we have already seen, were published by Whelock, in 1644.

* MS. Harl. 374, Art. 86.

CHAPTER IV.

HITHERTO we find neither Grammar or Dictionary, which could subserve the student of Anglo-Saxon in his desire to obtain a knowledge of that language. The monuments preserved in it were so few and so latent, that it required infinite courage and patience to attempt to prosecute the knowledge of it. William Somner (to whom we owe the first Anglo-Saxon Dictionary ever printed) was induced to bestow some attention on that language, from the recommendation of Dr. Meric Casaubon. Being sensible, like Spelman before him, of its utility in the study of antiquity, he determined to acquire a knowledge of it to better enable him to carry out his intentions. According to his biographer, Somner was in a manner to invent the language, as well as to restore it; for upon his essays that way he had but two poor MSS., and one of them on so obscure a subject as might have exercised a critic, sooner than instructed a novice.*

One of the labours of Somner, after he had acquired a knowledge of Saxon, was a translation into Latin of the Saxon laws, which Lambarde had published in 1568; this was made as literal as possible, "for the benefit of all who were studious of the Saxon tongue;" to which were added some laws that had been omitted by Lambarde. And for those who could not, or would not, read any other than their mother tongue, he translated the whole into modern English, and the work thus completed, entitled, *The ancient Saxon Laws translated*

* Kennet's Life of Somner.

into English, is amongst his collections in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury. Not content with a knowledge of the Saxon, he studied the Gothic, German, Danish, and other Northern languages. On the publication of Casaubon's work, "De Quatuor Linguis Comment.," &c., he communicated some remarks on the affinity of the old German and Anglo-Saxon languages, which were printed in the Appendix to that work.* He also furnished the valuable Glossary appended to the collection of English Historians, edited by Sir Roger Twisden, aided by Usher and Selden, and published by Cornelius Bee in 1652.

These publications of Somner, and the known tendency of his studies, evinced so fully in his Glossary, marked him out in an especial manner to his friends as the most competent person to compile a Saxon Dictionary. We are told by Casaubon, the friendly counsellor of his studies, that he used all the interest and persuasion of friendship to press upon him this labour. "When Mr. Somner had sufficiently proved himself a master of the language, I ceased not to importune him that he would think of compiling a Saxon Dictionary, by which labour he would best cultivate that language, and receive infinite thanks from all those who were desirous of studying it."† Others also joined in this importunity; and many of his judicious and affectionate friends, considering his slender means, offered to contribute to the charges of the impression. But, for a work that required so much time, and so great expense, his friends were to find some competent support and reward, which soon occurred by the death of Whelock. By this event, (which took place in 1657,) the disposal of the Anglo-Saxon Lecture founded by his grandfather fell to Roger Spelman, Esq., whose intention was to bestow it on Mr. Samuel Foster. But Archbishop Usher recommended Somner to the patron for the appointment, to enable him to prosecute the Saxon Dictionary, which, he thought, would more advance the study of that tongue than

* "Gulielmi Somneri Cantuariensis ad verba vetera Germanica à V. Cl. Justo Lipsio Epist. Cent. III. ad Belgas Epist. XLIV. collecta, Notæ."

† Casaubon de Lingua Saxonica, p. 142.

bare academic lectures. The urgent solicitations of Usher prevailed. The reason of the thing, and the will of his grandfather, induced Mr. Spelman to present Somner to the annual salary of that lecture, which the latter would not accept without the consent of Mr. Foster, before nominated to the place; who, preferring the public interest before his own, and Somner before himself, and content with the ecclesiastical benefice, he left the annual donation to Somner, who, receiving the reward, would not omit the duty for which it was received.*

He was sensible enough that, to make a Lexicon to any tongue, was one of the most difficult as well as servile of labours, especially if no collections existed that were available to him. Scattered as the Anglo-Saxon MSS. lay in collections in private hands, and almost unknown in public libraries from want of correct catalogues, he had to find out his materials previous to employing them. The comparatively easy access which we now have to historical muniments, the scholars of the seventeenth century did not enjoy. But by patient industry and perseverance Somner soon accumulated materials. Francis Junius communicated to him a Glossary of Ælfric, which he had transcribed from a copy in the library of Peter Paul Rubenius at Brussels, and which was by him published at the end of the Saxon Dictionary. Two other ancient glossaries in the Cotton Library he also used, and the Glossary of Nowel, already mentioned, was communicated to him by Selden. The collection of Joscelin he received from Sir Simonds D'Ewes; and it is probable that the collection of words from Bede, which it was apparently the intention of Whelock to enlarge into a Dictionary of the language, also came into his hands. With these helps, we are not surprised to learn "that it was not long before he reaped some tolerable fruit, which abundantly compensated for his labours."†

Having, with such friendly aid, commenced his undertaking, but conscious of the scarcity of his materials, he was constantly soliciting the assistance of those scholars whom he

* Kennet's Life of Somner. Nicolson's Historical Library, Ed. 1736. Gibson's Life of Spelman.

† Pref. ad Dict. Saxon. Kennet's Life of Somner.

thought could be beneficial to him. Amongst others, Mr. George Davenport, a great proficient in the Saxon, sent him many notes and observations. A letter from Somner to Casaubon acknowledges the obligation:—"I return many thanks for these papers of Mr. Davenport, which you were pleased to impart to me. I have more than once perused them, and am so well pleased and instructed by them that I shall improve them to a good degree; in point of correction to some, enlargement and illustration in other parts of my Lexicon, not without acknowledgment of my author."* This work, so anxiously looked for, was published in 1659 in a folio volume. It is a Saxon-Latin-English Dictionary. Many of the notes are also in English. At the end are the Latin-Saxon Grammar and Glossary of Ælfric.

Although Somner had from the death of Whelock enjoyed, and did then enjoy, the salary appertaining to the Saxon Lecture founded at Cambridge by Sir Henry Spelman, yet the work was printed at Oxford, for which the most probable reason we can assign is this, that the University of Cambridge had no suitable types, those which had been employed by Whelock in printing Bede's history being too large for a dictionary.† Of the labours of Davenport above mentioned, in the promotion of Saxon literature, we have a specimen in a copy of Somner's Dictionary, which, we are told by White Kennet, "was in the possession of Mr. George Davenport, (an absolute master in the Saxon, and a true friend to Somner,) much noted and enlarged by the curious owner, and is now in other hands, much farther improved."‡

In the year 1660, Somner published the "History of Gavel-

* Kennet's Life of Somner, prefixed to History of Gavelkind.

† E. R. Mores's Dissertation on Typographical Founders, p. 16.

‡ Kennet's Life of Somner. The fate of this volume I am unable to trace; but in Thorpe's Catalogue of fourteen hundred MSS., 1836, Art. 1141, there is a work in some respects answering the description in the text. "Somner's Saxon and Latin Dictionary, Oxford, 1659, folio. A most valuable volume to the Saxon scholar, being interleaved and illustrated with numerous and very copious notes and additions by George Davenport, which, it is presumed, have never been used." Another copy of Somner's Dictionary, with large additions by Dr. Waterland, consisting of from between four to five thousand words, was in the possession of the late Dr. Adam Clarke.

kind," to which is added an appendix of charters and other instruments in Saxon, some of which are accompanied with Latin, and others with interlinear English translations.* Many of his books and papers were accidentally burnt. Amongst others were memoirs of his life, the loss of which is a source of regret. The remainder were purchased by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, and are, I suppose, still preserved in that library. Amongst his collections, still remaining, are marginal emendations on Fox's Saxon Gospels, and L'Isle's Saxon Monuments, Casaubon's treatise, De Lingua Saxonica, Verstegan's Restitution, &c., and Spelman's Saxon Psalter; the materials used in compiling his Saxon Dictionary, two volumes of transcripts from Saxon MSS., a Collection from the Saxon Annals, very large emendations on Spelman's Concilia, (he having collated the text with MSS., amended the Saxon, and corrected the whole work;) two copies of Lambarde's Archaionomia, full of emendations, &c., together with other works, which have been since used by Saxon scholars, and from which it will be seen how much we are indebted to his labours.

From the period of the publication of the Saxon-English Dictionary, the study of our own language received an impulse which future lexicographers and grammarians began, though slowly, to take advantage of. In the year 1663, an enlarged English Grammar was published by Charles Butler, at Oxford, in which is given a collection of Saxon and English words, and a comparison thus made between the two languages. Wilkins's Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical Language, followed in 1668. Skinner's Etymologicon Anglicanum, completed and published by Dr. Thomas Henshaw in 1671, still further displays the utility of the Anglo-Saxon tongue in tracing our own. In 1689, another attempt was made to improve our knowledge of the origin of the English language in a work entitled, "Gazophylacium Anglicanum, containing the derivation of English words, proper and common, each in an alphabet

* A second edition of the History of Gavelkind was published in 1726, with the addition of his Life by White Kennet; first inserted in Somner's Roman Forts and Ports in Kent. 12mo, 1693.

distinct, proving the Dutch and Saxon to be the prime fountains."

Without mentioning other works of this kind here, it is evident that from the publication of Somner's Dictionary, a new path was opened up to the English philologer, and although a long time elapsed before sound philological principles were brought to bear on the subject, much of the rubbish had been cleared away, and a firm foundation laid, to which many scholars have since added materials, although we still want the superstructure.

The English language also began to receive the attention of continental scholars. The works of the learned were no longer exclusively confined to the Latin. English scholars began to write in their own tongue on subjects of science, and thus afforded materials of the best possible kind for improving and consolidating the language. A check was also placed on the innovations which preceding times had attempted, and the euphuism of the court of Elizabeth, the pedantry of the theologists of the reign of James, and the canting phraseology of the Puritans, equally sunk before the nervous and renovated Saxon.* The laws, which hitherto had been enrolled in the Norman French; the pleadings in our courts (although they had been in English since the time of Edward III.) until now had been translated into the same barbarous language, were for the future ordered to be in English; and the language became, in less than a century, the principal medium of communication, on almost every subject connected with literature and science.

In 1663, Silas Taylor published "A Treatise of Gavelkind," in which some account of the progress of the Saxon language towards extinction after the Conquest is given, and a few quotations from the Saxon Chronicle. "During the Civil Wars," according to Antony Wood, "he ransacked the library

* To many works, during the period referred to in the text, these remarks will not apply. For instance, in the reign of Elizabeth, the tracts which are known under the name of "Martin Mar-Prelate," display a terseness and vigour of style, and a bitterness of invective, not often equalled in our own times. The curious inquirer into literary history has often occasion to regret their great scarcity.

of the Church of Hereford of the best MSS. therein, and did also garble the MSS. in the library of the Church of Worcester, and the evidences pertaining thereunto, amongst which, as I have heard, he got the original grant of King Edgar, whence the Kings of England derived their right to the sovereignty of the seas."* His collections relating to Hereford, out of Domesday Book, &c., with two Saxon records, and an interlinear English translation, are in the British Museum.†

Dr. Thomas Mareschall, or Marshall, has already been mentioned, in connection with Junius, as the author of Observations on two Ancient Versions of the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels. Although born and educated in England, he was, at the period of the publication of that work, a minister of the English church at Rotterdam and Dort. The high estimation which he acquired from that work induced the society of Lincoln College, Oxford, to choose him fellow in 1668, and of which he was afterwards elected rector. He subsequently returned to England, and was the instructor of the celebrated Dr. George Hickes and others in the Saxon language. It is stated in Hickes's Thesaurus, [Vol. III. 85,] that Dr. Mareschall had taken the pains to collate a copy of Orosius, made by Junius, with the Lauderdale transcript for the purpose of publication.‡ He made some progress in collecting materials for an Anglo-Saxon grammar, a labour recommended to him by Bishop Fell, which are now in the Bodleian Library; they consist of a few loose sheets, with some forms of declensions.§

In the year 1670, Sheringham published "De Anglorum Gentis Origine Disceptatio," &c., on which work Bishop Nicolson has pronounced a very high eulogium. It contains, however, but few things relative to our subject. The same may be said also of the "Antiquities of Ancient Britain,

* Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. 624. Ed. 1721.

† MS. Harl. 6856.

‡ Nicolson's Hist. Library, 42. Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iv. 122, 5. Wood's Athenæ, ii. 782.

§ *Grammaticalia quædam Anglo-Saxonica per* D. THOMAM MARESCHALLUM, *in solutis schedis scripta, et inter codd. ejus MSS. reposita.* Wanley's Catalogue, 102. Bosworth's Grammar, Pref. xxv.

derived from the Phœnicians" of Aylett Sammes, published in 1676. At the end he has given the Laws of King Ina in Anglo-Saxon, with an English translation, but by whom done I know not, unless it was Somner. Two years afterwards the scholars of University College printed Sir John Spelman's Life of Alfred, which was translated into Latin by Obadiah Walker; to which several appendixes were added, including, amongst other things, Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Preface to Gregory's Pastoral Care; the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulstan, and other Saxon remains.* A second edition of the Monasticon Anglicanum appeared in 1682. Amongst the "Certain Miscellany Tracts" of Sir Thomas Browne, printed in the folio edition of his works in 1686, there is one "Of Languages, and particularly of the Saxon Tongue," but is not of sufficient interest to require further notice here. The "Seasonable Treatise, proving that King William did not get the imperial Crown of England by the Sword, 1689," contains two or three Saxon charters of the Conqueror that have been printed elsewhere.

The year 1689 also saw the publication of the first Anglo-Saxon Grammar ever compiled. This was the production of Dr. George Hickes. It is entitled, "Institutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ et Mœso-Gothicæ;" to which was added, "Grammatica Islandica Runolphi Jonæ;" and "Etymologicon Britannicum," by Edward Bernard. It is dedicated to Archbishop Sancroft. Whilst writing the Preface, disputes ran high in the House of Commons and throughout the kingdom, respecting the original contract, which occasioned him to insert the ancient coronation oath of our Saxon kings. The work was printed at the Sheldon press, with the Junian types. In the same year Wharton, in his "Auctarium Historiæ Dogmaticæ," printed Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Preface to the Heptateuch, accompanied by the Latin version of Hickes. In the year 1692, Gibson edited an improved text of the Saxon

* "In April 1679, Sir Harbottle Grimston, in the Parliament House, took occasion to mention the printing of certain books at the Theater in Oxon as the Notes on King Alfred's Life, wherein were several (as he said) that savoured of Popery." Wood's Athenæ, ii. 933. Ed. 1721.

Chronicle, detailing in his preface the copies which he had used in correcting the text; and, because the Latin translation of Whelock was considered too elegant in its diction to give a correct idea of the original Saxon, he accompanied his Saxon text with a more literal Latin version. The Saxon and Latin are given in parallel columns. In the preface we learn, that he was incited to the work by his friend, John Mills, (principal of Edmund's Hall,) "from a due consideration of the value of the original." The scholars of that age were desirous of obtaining a more correct and enlarged edition than the defective one by Whelock; who, according to the observations of Junius, Mareschall, and others, deprived the world, by his mutilated and erroneous edition, of what Gerard Langbaine might have done. We are much indebted to Dr. Fell for his patronage of this work. Junius and Mareschall had made use of their interest with him to recommend the publication, and, on their suggestion, it was committed to the care of William Nicolson, (afterwards bishop of Carlisle,) who had recently returned from Germany. Having during his residence there acquired a knowledge of German, he subsequently qualified himself for the task by a thorough study of the Saxon; but soon after obtaining promotion in a cathedral, at a distance from Oxford, he left to Gibson the principal labour and credit of the publication. Having been thus appointed to the task, he tells us, that he had leisure enough, but ability and a competent knowledge of Saxon he had to seek. The difficulties under which he laboured were great, but from them he was considerably relieved on the publication of Hickes's Saxon Grammar.* In a letter to Ralph Thoresby, he says of his Saxon Chronicle, "it was the effect of young brains and some spare hours, and you cannot but perceive in it both a want of judgment and leisure."

The types which Junius presented to Oxford University were again employed in 1698 to print Alfred's Anglo-Saxon

* Nicolson's Historical Library. Gibson's Preface to Chron. Saxon. Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle. A copy of this edition of the Saxon Chronicle, collated with four early MSS., with Notes and Memoranda in the autograph of Dr. D Waterland, was in the library of the late Dr. Adam Clarke.

version of "Bœthius de Consolatione Philosophiæ," under the superintendence of Christopher Rawlinson. The copy used was the Junian transcript in the Bodleian, collated with a MS. in the Cotton Library, since accidentally destroyed.* Dr. Richard Rawlinson, in one of his letters to Brome, a few years afterwards, complains that "the destruction of copies only made the work to bear any price," and that his namesake's pocket suffered by the publication. It was unaccompanied by any version, either in Latin or English; and for the preface he was probably indebted to Thwaites. The impression, we learn from a letter of Nicolson to Thoresby, was limited to 250 copies, the greater number of which the editor generously distributed amongst his friends and acquaintance, and which was of good service to Dr. Hickes when endeavouring to obtain subscribers to his Thesaurus.†

Queen's College, Oxford, about this period, was a nest of Saxonists, one of the principal of whom was Edward Thwaites. As early as 1698, he became a preceptor in the Saxon tongue there, and in one of his letters to Humphrey Wanley, dated 24th March 1698–9, observes, "We want Saxon Lexicons. I have fifteen young students in that language, and but one Somner for them all." The scarcity of Somner's work, and the absence of any other Dictionary of the language, doubtless induced him to patronise Benson's Saxon Dictionary, for which work, (if we may credit Hearne's statement in one of his diaries,) printed at Oxford, 1701, under the title of "Vocabularium Saxonicum," with Benson's name, we are principally indebted to Thwaites. The same year which saw the publication of Bœthius, also witnessed the publication of the Heptateuch, the Book of Job, and the pseudo-Gospel of Nichodemus, in Anglo-Saxon; to which was added the Dano-Saxon poem of Judith. The book being dedicated to Hickes, in those times of party and alarm, gave some offence at Oxford, or rather to the heads, lest it should cause them trouble at court. The publication of this work had been designed some

* In the fire at Cotton-house, in 1731. It was Otho. A. vi.
† Thoresby's Correspondence, i. 331-2.

time before, as we learn from a letter of Bishop Gibson to Thwaites, in May 1697; he says, "By a letter from Dr. Mill, I perceive you begin to resume thoughts of publishing the Pentateuch in Saxon. Had we a collection of all the texts of Scripture, it might be conveniently joined to your design, and if you should run over the Homilies for that purpose, I hope you'll have an eye to all the passages against popery. I doubt not, by what I have had an opportunity of seeing, but a collection of that kind would be pretty large; and it would be undeniable evidence to posterity, that the belief of our papists at this day is a very different thing from that of our Saxon ancestors."* Whilst engaged on the work, he received encouragement from various persons, and, in particular, from Bishops Gibson and Nicolson. A specimen having been sent, in June 1697, to the latter, by Mr. Elstob, he addressed a letter to Thwaites, requesting to be a subscriber for a dozen copies, which, after receiving, we learn that he distributed amongst his friends, "such as were lovers of our English antiquities, to promote their acquaintance with the old Saxon tongue."† In another letter to him he expresses some apprehensions on the subject of the Gospel of Nichodemus: "I wish all the remains we have in the Saxon tongue were published. But will you not be censured for sending out this Gospel at this time of day? Those ridiculously foolish discourses it affords upon our Saviour's descension into hell, &c. were proper, perhaps, for the times wherein they were translated, but may have ill effects now."‡ And in a letter to Ralph Thoresby, he expresses similar apprehensions: "Amongst these last (apocryphal writings) they gave the Gospel of Nichodemus, which (I confess) I care not for seeing in any language whatever, under the same cover with any part of the canonical Scriptures. Its account of our Saviour's descent into hell, resurrection, &c., is so scandalously ridiculous and absurd, that I wish it may not tempt some of our atheists

* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iv. 143.

† Thoresby's Correspondence, i. 316.

‡ Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iv. 145. Had the liberal-minded bishop lived in our times, his apprehensions on this subject would have vanished.

to study the Saxon tongue, to expose our more ancient Christian faith."*

About this time Thwaites waited upon Dr. Hickes, apparently for the purpose of engaging himself to superintend the great work on Septentrional learning, then in preparation by the latter, through the press. In the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1834 are some memoranda respecting him, extracted from a Pocket Almanack, printed at Oxford, 1698, the blank leaves of which Thwaites had used for a journal, or rather diary. Under the date of July 28, 1698, he has inserted the following notice: "This evening, Dr. Hickes, the great restorer of our Saxon learning, was pleased to give me leave to wait upon him, shewing me his two chapters, of y^e^ dialects one; y^t^ concerning the poetry of y^e^ old Saxon being the other. At y^e^ same time, he thought fit to mention his having heard, that I designed an edition of King Alfred's Saxon translation of Orosius. I told him I knew not whether such a thing would be tolerably well received. He said it was certainly worthy of the publick, because it would enrich us w^th^ a store of words in that language, and acquaint us with the terms they made use of in those days, both in history and geography. Over and above, he told me y^t^ Dr. Bernard was peculiarly fond of this version, and valued it chiefly as it agreed best w^th^ his scheme of Chronology; but having certified Mr. Dean [Hickes] it was not a strict translation, he thought it would not be so proper to print the Latin with it."† He was subsequently engaged by Hickes, and superintended the "Thesaurus" through the press. Of his value as an editor, and of his learning, Hickes entertained the highest opinion, for in a letter to Dr. Charlet, under date of 1699, he thus writes: "I thank you most heartily for your invitation to Oxford; but Mr. Thwaites's skill, care, and diligence, make it needless for me to be there." And in the preface of the work, he acknowledges the obligations under which he lay to him.‡

* Thoresby's Correspondence, i. 311. Nicolson to Thoresby.

† Gent. Magazine, May 1834, 261-2. The Almanack containing these memoranda of Thwaites was the property of the late Rev. J. J. Conybeare.

‡ Vide Pref. to Thesaurus.

Much of the care bestowed on the text of Rawlinson's Boethius, as well as the composition of the Latin Preface, are attributed to Thwaites. In the year 1708, he printed anonymously, in 8vo, "Notæ in Anglo-Saxonum Nummos," inserted in Wotton's Short View of Hickes's Thesaurus. In 1711, the year of his death, he published, also anonymously, "Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica ex Hickesiano Linguarum Septentrionalium Thesauro excerpta," dedicated to Christopher Rawlinson. "Although the work extends only to forty-eight octavo pages, being closely printed, it contains most of what is necessary for the young Saxon student; and for the alphabetical arrangement of the irregular verbs, and some other particulars, it is a more practical and convenient work for a learner than Dr. Hickes's larger Thesaurus."* The Anglo-Saxon Orosius, alluded to in his Diary, never came out. The share which he had in the Saxon Dictionary of Benson has already been noticed. In Fosbroke's British Monachism, [Vol. II. 224,] his translation of the Saxon Chronicle is mentioned; and amongst Hearne's MSS., in Rawlinson's Collections, are his notes on the Gospels of Ulphilas. For some time he was chaplain to Bishop Nicolson, but a too close application to study, and probably the absence of that encouragement which his talents so well merited, undermined his health, and he died at the age of forty-four, leaving a character for learning, which, at that age, is rarely acquired.

The want of Saxon Lexicons, alluded to by Thwaites in 1698, had been felt by others, and had occupied the attention of Wanley; for, in the year 1692, he epitomised Somner's Dictionary, but whether for publication or not, does not appear, but most probably for his own use in studying the language. He pleasantly styles it "Liber Humfredi Wanley et amicorum." It was completed in an almost incredibly short space of time; and is now amongst the Harleian collection in the British Museum.†

* Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, Pref. xxviii. Edition 1823.

† MS. Harl. 3317. In the same volume is a Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon books in print and MS. dated Nov. 11, 1691.

The first attempt of Benson, an epitome of Somner's Dictionary, was printed in small 4to, in 1690; a half sheet so printed, and perhaps the only one in existence, is amongst Hearne's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The title then determined on was, "Thesaurus Linguæ Anglo-Saxonicæ Dictionario Gul. Somneri, quoad numerum Vocum auctior. Curâ Thomæ Benson è Collegio Reginæ. Oxoniæ è Theatro Sheldoniano. An. 1690." On the publication of the work in 1701, it was changed to "Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum, lexico Gul. Somneri magna parte auctius," &c., and printed in octavo. In the preparation of materials for this work, Benson was not only indebted to Thwaites, but also to Mr. Todhunter, and two or three more gentlemen of the same college, although their assistance is not acknowledged by him. The Preface was either the production of Thwaites or Dr. Mill, and the additions are principally from the MSS. of Junius in the Bodleian Library.*

* Hearne's MS. Diary, vol. x. 28, quoted in Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iv. 143.

CHAPTER V.

THE labours of Dr. George Hickes in the promotion of Saxon literature deserve our particular notice. He studied the Septentrional languages under Junius and Mareschall; and, as we have seen, gave the world, in the year 1689, a proof of his learning by the publication of an Anglo-Saxon and Mœso-Gothic Grammar. He was the author of several controversial works,* with which here we have nothing to do. In 1679 he was created doctor of divinity at Oxford; in 1683, appointed chaplain to Charles II., and in the same year dean of Worcester. At the Revolution in 1688, on refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, he was, with others of the non-juring clergy, deprived. Some time afterwards, Sancroft and his colleagues appointed him to wait on James II., at the French court, with a list of the deprived clergy; and he, concurring with their suggestions, Hickes, after his return, was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Thetford. To divert his mind from the politics of the time, he was earnestly recommended by White Kennet (in whose house Hickes resided, although Kennet was a Whig) and other friends to pursue the study of the Septentrional languages. Their friendly suggestions were successful, and he commenced collecting materials for the great work which came out in the year 1705, in three folio volumes, entitled, "*Thesaurus Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium.*"

From some letters of Nicolson and Gibson, addressed to Ralph

* A complete list of the works he had written, to the year 1708, is given by him in a letter to Ralph Thoresby, published in the Thoresby Correspondence. Many of them were published anonymously. Vol. i. 115.

Thoresby, and published amongst his "Correspondence," it is evident that the original plan of Hickes's work was far more limited. It was to have been published in a single folio volume, at a guinea; to contain a reprint, with additions and corrections, of the Grammars published in 1689, together with the addition of a Francick Grammar; enlarged by Dissertations and Catalogues of MSS. According to Gibson, fifteen or sixteen sheets were, in November 1698, already printed, and the copy of the whole prepared; which would be proceeded with as fast as the press would allow, and the author be enabled, by the assistance of his friends, to do so; "for being a book out of the common road, the booksellers are afraid to undertake it, and so it must be carried on entirely by the contributions of gentlemen and scholars."* Nicolson tells his friend Thoresby, in the month of October, that "the Doctor meets with far more encouragement than his own circumstances and those of the times seemed to allow him to hope for. There will be a deal of cuts in the book, and yet I do not question but it will be finished early in the spring."† And when we recollect the extreme virulence of party spirit at the time, and from which Hickes was by no means exempt, his character as a Saxon scholar must have stood high in the estimation of his political opponents, for him to have received on the issuing of his proposals such general encouragement. The copies on royal paper were for those more generous contributors who had aided him with their purses. On the subscription-money being paid to the bookseller empowered to receive it, he was to furnish a note to the subscriber, to be exchanged for the book on its publication.

Wanley, at this time, had probably furnished something towards the work; but being (as we learn from a letter of the Rev. W. Tong) "very busy, and I fear almost fatigued with a work which, when it is passed the press and peril of its birth, is to bear the title of 'De re Diplomatica,'"‡ he did not probably enter so fully into the design until some time afterwards.

* Gibson to Thoresby, Nov. 11, 1698.
† Nicolson to Thoresby, Oct. 22, 1698.
‡ Rev. W. Tong to Thoresby, Jan. 18, 1698-9.

In the Harleian Library are many letters from Hickes to Wanley, which indicate the progress that from time to time the Thesaurus was making towards completion. Some of them relate to the portion of the work which Wanley had engaged to supply for it, namely, a complete catalogue, as far as practicable, of all the Saxon MSS., in public and private collections, which, in this country, were known to exist. To effect this, we are told that he travelled over England. This was attended with considerable expense, and we are therefore not surprised to find Hickes contributing towards it. On one occasion he sent him five pounds, with advice to husband it well, telling him, that were he in the world, as formerly, Wanley had never drudged so long in the Bodleian. Differences arose between Hickes and Wanley afterwards: the expense of printing was very great; and on one or two occasions the former seemed of opinion that Wanley was not sufficiently zealous in the work. The Thesaurus being published by subscription, and great, perhaps unavoidable, delay in getting a work of such a nature through the press, many persons in Wilts, Gloucester, and other places, called in their subscriptions. Other complaints appear of the press standing for want of copy; and elsewhere, that he is L.400 in debt to the stationer, and, again, angry with Wanley about Mr. Thwaites's press waiting.*

The great work so long and so anxiously expected by the Anglo-Saxon scholars of that age, at last came out in three folio volumes, in the year 1705, with a dedication to Prince George of Denmark. As it is sometimes to be met with in two, and at others in three volumes, it may be worth while to give a table of the contents, as it appears in the first volume.†

I. Pars Prima, seu Institutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ et Mœso-Gothicæ. Pp. 235.

II. Ejusdem Pars Secunda, seu Institutiones Grammaticæ Franco-Theotiscæ. Pp. 111.

III. Ejusdem Pars Tertia, seu Grammaticæ Islandicæ Rudimenta. Pp. 92.

* MS. Harl. 3781.

† Hickes, Thesaurus, vol. i.

IV. De Litteraturæ Septentrionalis Utilitate, sive de Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Usu Dissertatio Epistolaris, cum Numismatibus Saxonicis. Pp. 188.

V. Antiquæ Litteraturæ Septentrionalis Liber alter, seu Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, &c. Catalogus Historico-Criticus, &c. Pp. 326. Cum totius Operis sex Indicibus.

VI. Addenda et Emendata.

In the Preface to his Thesaurus, Hickes acknowledges, with gratitude, the assistance which he obtained whilst it was in preparation. On the judgment of Bishop Nicolson he appears to have placed great reliance, in matters of difficulty, and we cannot but think that his hand is often visible in the "Dissertatio Epistolaris" to Bartholomew Shower, which, next to Wanley's Catalogue, may now be considered the most useful part of the work. He was indebted to William Elstob for a translation of the Anglo-Saxon Homily of Lupus into Latin, illustrated with notes, (a few copies of which appear to have been struck off as early as 1701,)* inserted in the work. Dr. William Hopkins, prebendary of Worcester, gave him an illustrated Anglo-Saxon Commentary, concerning the Saints which were buried in England, which he translated into Latin, and to it added notes.† The Saxon laws of Ethelbert, Hlothere, and Eadric, kings of Kent, with the Latin version of John de Laet, were presented to him by Bishop Gibson. For the six indexes he thanks his friend William Brome of Ewithington; and for pecuniary assistance, he acknowledges his obligations to Adam Ottley, canon of Hereford, who largely and liberally contributed out of his purse towards the printing of the work. But he was principally indebted to the assiduity and care of Edward Thwaites, for revising and correcting the sheets, both before and after they went to the press; and, as several plates of fac-similes were

* "Sermo Lupi Episcopi, Saxonice. Latinam interpretationem notasque adjecit Gulielmus Elstob. Col. Univ. Oxon. Soc. Oxoniæ e Theatro Sheldoniano. An. Dom. MDCCI." 11 pages folio. A copy was recently, I believe, in the possession of Mr. Pickering.

† MS. Harl. 464, Art. 24.

inserted in the work, the supervision of these Thwaites also undertook; and his assistance is warmly acknowledged by Hickes, not only in the preface, but in various letters to his friends.

In the preface, also, Hickes has recommended a method of studying the Saxon, doubtless very useful in his day. First of all, the student was to acquire a thorough knowledge of the parts of speech, by a careful perusal and study of the first seventeen chapters of the Anglo-Saxon Grammar. Then the Anglo-Saxon Gospels by Mareschall are to be read over; the Psalter of Sir John Spelman, and the Heptateuch by Thwaites, to follow. After these have been read and understood, he is next to read Ælfric's Easter Homily, and his Treatise of the Old and New Testament, published by L'Isle. Alfred's Bede, and Rawlinson's Bœthius, to succeed these; with Spelman's Ecclesiastical Canons, and Lambarde's Anglo-Saxon Laws, by Whelock. Amongst the class-books here enumerated, we find no reference to Cædmon, although published many years before by Junius: but this might have arisen from his intention of re-editing that work, and making it, by means of a translation, more accessible to the English reader.*

Three years after the publication of Hickes's Thesaurus, an epitome of it in Latin, by William Wotton, was published, with the addition of notes, generally attributed to him. From a letter of William Clarke to Bowyer, printed in Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, we learn that Hickes himself was their principal author. "Dr. Hickes," says he, "took care of the impression, (of Wotton's Conspectus;) and the notes, which I believe is a secret, are all his, except those upon the Saxon Coins, by Mr. Thwaites.† This Dr. Hickes had no mind to have known, that it might not look too much like puffing, and therefore they have generally been quoted for Dr. Wotton's, as in Waterland's History of the Athanasian Creed, 2d edit., p. 129. By this you will see that Dr. Wotton could never think of any

* See MS. Harl. 3777, Art. 162.

† This tract, "Notæ in Anglo-Saxonum Nummos," some copies of which appear to have been printed off separately for presents, is appended to Wotton.

additions to this work; it was carefully examined by the author of the Thesaurus, and made such as he would have it; a little sketch of his design to raise the curiosity of his readers to farther inquiries, or (as you would say in the trade) to call in customers. It would be of no use to let your friend in Suffolk be acquainted with this secret, who perhaps would like the work never the better for thinking Dr. Hickes had such a hand in it."* A translation of Wotton's Conspectus into English was made in 1734 by Maurice Shelton, the first edition of which appeared the following year, and the second two years afterwards.

The work of Hickes was at the time considered a great accession to Anglo-Saxon literature, by all who bestowed on it any attention. In the language of a writer, to whom Anglo-Saxon students owe much, when writing of "that miracle of indirected industry and mistaken learning," (the Thesaurus,) "Though modern attention has detected so many errors, as to render his Grammars rather dangerous than useful, we owe him great and hearty thanks for his labours. The enthusiasm which he brought with him to the task spread far beyond himself; a host of Saxon students rose around him; and his Grammar answered all the wants of which they were conscious."†

About this period, a work was projected, apparently by Wanley, in which it is evident that Dr. Hickes was to have had some share, and to have furnished for it a [Latin?] translation of Cædmon. This appears from a letter of Bishop Nicolson to Wanley, in August 1705. "I have long wished for an accurate translation of Cædmon; and Mr. Dean [Hickes] onely is able (glad am I that he is willing) to undertake that part."‡ In the year 1705, he published "Letters between Dr. G. Hickes and a popish priest upon occasion of a young gentlewoman departing from the Church of England to that of Rome;" to which an appendix was added, containing the Anglo-Saxon Offices of the

* Clarke to Bowyer, (no date,) Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes, ii. 110.
† J. M. Kemble's Letter in Michel. 13.
‡ Nicolson to Wanley, MS. Harl. 3777, Art. 162.

daily and nightly hours of prayer. He was desirous of publishing a complete edition of Ælfric's Saxon Homilies, and other works in the same language, but want of encouragement prevented him from proceeding with any of them. He engaged in the theological controversies of the times with renewed ardour, and which he continued till his death, in the year 1715. Amidst all his labours, however, the promotion of the Saxon learning was an object which he had at heart, and we find him assisting Wanley, the Elstobs, and others, with his advice, leaving to younger hands than his to gather up the fragments which were left.

Next to Hickes, our obligations are due at this period to Humphrey Wanley, for the extraordinary zeal and earnestness which he devoted to the same object. He was born in March 1671-2, and in early life was bred a limner, after which he learned some other trade. His leisure hours were occupied in turning over old MSS. and imitating the various hands, in which he soon acquired an extraordinary facility, as well as in verifying their dates. He was sent to Edmund Hall, by Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, but afterwards removed to University College, Oxford, by the advice of Dr. Charlet. At the age of twenty-three, he compiled the Coventry and Warwick Catalogue, which brought him acquainted with Archbishop Tenison. By the friendship of Dr. Charlet he was made under-keeper of the Bodleian Library, where he assisted in drawing up the Indexes to the Catalogue of MSS., the Latin preface to which he wrote. In 1692, he was desirous of obtaining some office in the College of Arms, and in 1702 made an unsuccessful application for the custody of the Paper Office. He soon after became secretary to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which he retained only until 1705, resigning it, as it would appear, under the expectation of obtaining the librarianship of the Cotton MSS., in which, however, he was disappointed. Not long after this he was engaged by Robert Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford) as librarian, amongst whose collections the principal remaining years of his life were spent.

We find Wanley early in life had devoted some portion of

his time in the study of Saxon. In a letter of Charles King to him in 1692, he writes, "I will bring with me out of Staffordshire Mr. Somner's Dictionary, and the Evangelica Saxonica and Gothica, (given me by Mr. Junius,) and another Saxon tract, which may be of use to your studies in that tongue."* Under date of May 28, the same correspondent expresses a wish "that Junius's Collection was published, or in such hands as Mr. Wanley's, who would spare no pains to make it fit for the press."† Wanley then was in his twenty-second year. On the recommendation of Dr. Hickes, he travelled over England in search of Anglo-Saxon MSS. under the sanction of royal authority,‡ in which labour he was a long time engaged. The latter, (who certainly had a strong friendship for him,) knowing that Wanley's circumstances were none of the best, wrote a friendly letter recommending him to marry his cousin, who had a good fortune; but Wanley's "want of estate" for some time hindered the progress of the match. He was subsequently married to her, as we find Hickes (between whom and Wanley some little differences had arisen) telling him that he had heard of the marriage from Wanley's friends, and thinks it unfriendly he did not disclose it himself.

We have already mentioned the Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS., which accompanied and formed a part of Hickes's Thesaurus. It appears to have been drawn up by Wanley in English, and afterwards translated into Latin under the care of Thwaites. The work is one of great value even now, for, although some few of the MSS. which at that time lay in private hands have since been added to public collections, yet the great collections of Sir Thomas Cotton in the British Museum, of Archbishop Parker at Cambridge, and of Sir Thomas Bodley at Oxford, are nearly the same as when the Catalogue was drawn up, if we except the loss occasioned by the fire at Cotton-house in 1731. Besides a particular description of every manuscript, he gives us the date, or probable date,

* MS. Harl. 3777, Art. 18. † Ibid. Art 20.

‡ Draught of a Warrant to be signed by her Majesty, commanding all keepers of her Majesty's Records and Libraries to suffer Mr. Wanley to peruse and transcribe what he shall think fit, without paying fees. MS. Harl. 7055, Art. 2.

when it was written, some portion of the beginning and ending of each MS., and at times very considerable extracts, when the curiosity of the subject, or the character of the MS. in his opinion warranted it. In the preface, he has given the abbreviations usually to be met with, and instructions for ascertaining the age of Saxon MSS. The excessive price of Hickes's Thesaurus, and the many additions to our collections from continental and other sources since the date of Wanley's book, render a complete Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS. a desideratum, which, it is hoped, will before long occupy the attention of Anglo-Saxon scholars. The production of such a work in an octavo form, under the auspices of another Record Commission, (should another be issued,) would be hailed with pleasure by all who take an interest in the history of our country.

The next work in which Wanley engaged was an edition of those parts of the Bible, in Anglo-Saxon, which had been translated into that language, in which he had the assistance and encouragement of Dr. Hickes and others. We find some account of the plan in a letter from Bishop Nicolson to Wanley in August 1705. "Next to what concerns the preservation of our established religion and government, I know nothing that has a greater share in my thoughts and desires than the promotion of the Septentrional learning. You have done much towards the advancement of this already, and I am extremely pleased to find that you are not weary of the work. After you have had the approbation of our great and worthy friend, Dr. Hickes, in what you are now designing, you may easily assure yourself of the concurrence of my advice. I was well enough pleased with the publishing of Cædmon, Bœthius, and the Saxon Heptateuch, because I thought that a sure way of preserving these pieces to posterity; but I never could hope that (in this naked condition) they'd have many readers, or effectually propagate the knowledge of the Saxon tongue. Your obliging pains will be of more general use, and I hope will not fail of meeting with a proper reward and acknowledgment from the public. I have little or nothing to object against the scheme you have drawn for yourself, and I parti-

cularly approve the design of intermixing some of the old pictures for the reasons mentioned. I have long wished for an accurate translation of Cædmon; and Mr. Dean [Hickes] only is able (glad am I to hear that he is willing) to undertake that part. Honest Mr. Junius told me there were three or four words in that poem which he did not understand. This perhaps hindered him from attempting a complete translation; though (I believe) most of it is rendered piecemeal in the quotations he has made thence in his Saxon Dictionary. 'Tis a misfortune that we have lost so many of those parts of the Old Testament as were translated by Ælfric. May not those homilies in the Macchabees (and other portions of Scripture) supply this defect? This, in my poor opinion, would do better than making up the *lacunæ* (as you propose) by the ancientest English translation; for such a version coming any thing near the time of the Conquest, will very well bear an entire edition by itself, especially after a while, when the taste of such curiosities is grown a little more general. You will also allow me (with submission) to enter my dissent to your publishing your chapters according to the division of the vulgar Latin Bibles. 'Twill be a greater ease to an English reader to have them put into the modern form; and this reason will be your just apology with foreigners. Specimens of the hands wherein your several MSS. are penned, where the variety is considerable by the great difference of their age, will be undoubtedly very useful and entertaining, since you are most able to ascertain the proper times of each of them."*

This friendly and judicious letter must have afforded encouragement to Wanley, and he appears to have entered on his task with alacrity. Whilst engaged upon the work, he found that Miss Elstob also (whom we shall presently mention more at large) had projected an edition of the Psalms in Anglo-Saxon; but hearing that Wanley was preparing the whole Bible, including the Psalms, she gave it up, although he generously offered all the assistance he could give in the

* Nicolson to Wanley, Aug. 20, 1705, MS. Harl. 3777, Art. 162.

publication.* This design was never carried into effect. Wanley's engagements as librarian must have occupied the greater portion of his time, he having entered on the compilation of a Catalogue of the Harleian MSS., and commenced the work in 1708, but which he never lived to complete.† The abridgment of Somner's Dictionary, made in 1691, already mentioned, together with many of his MSS. works, are to be met with in the Harleian and other collections in the British Museum.

In the year 1699, we find an edition of Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius projected by Mr. William Elstob, a nephew of Dr. Hickes, and from whom he derived a knowledge of the Saxon language. A specimen, consisting of two leaves in quarto, was printed at the Sheldon press at Oxford in that year, which are now preserved at the end of one of the volumes of Anglo-Saxon transcripts made by the Elstobs amongst the Lansdowne collection.‡ He subsequently prepared the whole work for the press, as we learn from a letter of his sister to Ralph Thoresby in 1709. "My brother joins me in service to you. He has many things to do if he had leisure and encouragement. King Alfred's translation of Orosius he has ready for the press, and a great many materials towards the Saxon Laws, and a promise of more. He would be glad to publish Gregory's Pastoral after the Homily, and being a University College man, would willingly publish all that King Alfred did."§ From some cause or other, the Orosius was never published by him, but it remained in manuscript for

* E. Elstob to Thoresby, Oct. 10, 1709.

† See the Preface to the Catalogue of Harleian MSS. His labours terminate at No. 2047.

‡ MS. Lansdown. 373. In Nichols's Bowyer, p. 11, it is stated that the specimen of Orosius was printed in 1690. To the same effect, Daines Barrington, in his preface to Orosius, correcting Ballard, says, "Mr. Elstob was probably deterred from printing from want of encouragement by subscriptions, and not from bad health. Elstob died in 1715, whereas he began to print this version in 1690." Preface to Orosius, p. xx. It is a proof of the carelessness of Barrington, who actually used the Elstob transcript for the text of his edition, that he did not take some little trouble to investigate the history of the work of which he was editor. In 1690, Elstob was but seventeen years old.

§ Eliz. Elstob to Thoresby, May 6, 1709.

some years; and having passed through two or three hands, it came at length into those of the Hon. Daines Barrington, and was by him published in 1773.*

In the year 1701, on the solicitation of Dr. Hickes, he made a Latin translation, accompanying it with notes, of the Saxon homily of Lupus, from the Junian transcript, prefixing a dedicatory epistle to Hickes, which fixes its date 9th August 1701. He calls it the first fruit of his labours in the Saxon tongue. He aided his sister in the Anglo-Saxon homily on the birth-day of St. Gregory, and furnished for it a Latin, to accompany her English translation of the Anglo-Saxon text. After this he commenced an edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, and issued proposals. Several commendatory notices of this work are to be met with in contemporary publications. For instance, in Hickes's preface to the first volume of his Sermons, in Thoresby's Ducatus Leodiensis, and in the curious and interesting preface to "Fortescue on Absolute and Limited Monarchy," by Judge Fortescue-Aland. From the "Proposals towards a new edition of the Saxon Laws," we learn the method which Elstob had chosen, which was as follows:—

"I. That the Laws which Mr. Lambarde and Mr. Whelock published, be published again more correctly.

II. That the Laws of King Ethelberht, with those of Edred and Hlotharius, and whatever else of that kind is to be met with in Textus Roffensis, or in any other ancient MSS. judged proper to be inserted, be also added.

III. That that of J. Brompton, and the most ancient translations, be considered and compared, and, if thought convenient, be likewise printed.

IV. That an entire new Latin translation be added of Mr. Somner's.

V. That such various readings, references, and annotations of learned men, viz. Spelman, Selden, Junius, D'Ewes, Laet, Hickes, and others, be adjoined, as

* Barrington's Preface to Orosius.

shall serve to illustrate the work, with what other observations that occur to the Editor untouched by these learned men.

VI. A general preface, giving an account of the original and progress of the English Laws to the Norman Conquest, and thence to Magna Charta.

VII. That there be particular prefaces, giving so far an account of the several kings, as concerned their making laws.

VIII. An addition of proper glossaries and an index."*

Whilst the work was in progress, Hickes and other friends endeavoured to obtain for Mr. Elstob some preferment which would enable him successfully to prosecute his design. Accordingly, the former wrote to Secretary Harley in his behalf, and to whom, in an undated letter written about March 1711, he gave the following account of the author:—"He is rector of St. Swithin's Church by London Stone, and hath set himself to give the world a new edition of the Saxon Laws, towards which he hath made a considerable collection, which you may see at any time when you are pleased to have an account of his whole design. I doubt not but that my Lord Keeper hath a domestic chaplain of his own to whom he will think fit to give the preferment mentioned in the enclosed; but, however, if you think fit to make his name known to his lordship, and his learned design relating to the Laws, it might be of use to him against another time. He is a man of good learning, and of very great diligence and application, and equal to the work he is upon; and the least countenance and encouragement from so great a judge and patron of learning as you, would make him proceed in it with cheerfulness as once it did animate me in another undertaking."† A letter of Elstob, April 11, 1711, acknowledges with thanks the use of Judge Hales's History of the Common Law of England,

* Ballard's Preface to Orosius, now in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, quoted by Pegge, in his account of the Elstobs, Bib. Top. Brit. vol. iii. Archæologia, vol. i.

† MS. Harl. 7524, quoted in Nichols's Bowyer, 48.

lent to him by Harley; and, according to the writer quoted in Bowyer, Harley encouraged the design; but, if he did, it was in another way than Elstob desired; for in 1712 we find him writing to Wanley "about his applying to my Lord Treasurer, or Lord Harley, for a prebend of Canterbury, as very convenient in his present design of the ancient English laws; Somner's collection being at Canterbury, the city livings being inadequate to his support, considering the great expenses incurred."* Either want of encouragement or his early death appears to have prevented the publication, as well as the Anglo-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral, in the preparation of which he had taken some pains. To Dr. Hickes's "Controversial Discourses," published in 1715, he contributed the larger Offices of devotion used in the Anglo-Saxon Church, with an English translation and notes.†

His sister, Elizabeth Elstob, was, if possible, a still more zealous promoter of Anglo-Saxon literature. From her relationship to Dr. Hickes, we may infer that he was her principal instructor. She has given some account of her Saxon studies in the preface to the edition of the Anglo-Saxon homily on the birth-day of St. Gregory, which was published in 8vo, 1709, with her English translation, the Latin version of her brother, and an appendix, containing some epistles of St. Gregory. The apologetical preface is a curious and by no means bad defence of "learned women." "Having accidentally," she tells us, "met with a specimen of King Alfred's version of Orosius into Saxon, designed to be published by a near relation and friend, I was very desirous to understand it; and, having gained the alphabet, I found it so easy, and in it so much of the grounds of the present language, and of a more particular agreement with some words which I had heard when very young in the North, as drew me in to be more inquisitive after books written in that language. With this the kind encourager of my studies being very well pleased, recommended to me the Saxon

* MS. Harl. 3780, Art. 134.

† Pegge's Account of the Elstobs, Archæologia, vol. i. Nichols's Bowyer, x. 48, &c.

Heptateuch, most accurately published by Mr. Thwaites. The matter of that book being well known and familiar to me, made the reading of it easy and agreeable, and led me on to the reading of several other treatises, and to divert myself in taking transcripts from such ancient MS as I could meet with. Among these was one I made of the Athanasian Creed, which the great Instaurator of Northern Literature was pleased to accept from me, and to think not unworthy of being published with the Conspectus, or account in Latin which the learned Mr. Wotton has given us of his ample and learned Thesaurus, &c. This great patron of the Septentrional studies hath ever since persevered to encourage my proceeding in them, and to urge me that, by publishing somewhat in Saxon, I would invite the ladies to be acquainted with the language of their predecessors, and the original of their mother-tongue. Particularly he recommended to me the publication of this homily."* The preface also contains some very judicious remarks on the Faith and Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church, illustrated by references to the other Saxon Homilies of Ælfric, with occasional extracts from them.

After this we find Miss Elstob preparing a Saxon Grammar, compiled from the works of Hickes and Thwaites. It was published at London in 4to, 1715, entitled, "The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue, first given in English, with an Apology for the Study of Northern Antiquities," &c. The destruction of Bowyer's presses by fire, in 1712-13, deferred for some time its publication. The types used in printing her Homily in 1709 having been destroyed, Lord Chief Justice Parker munificently contributed towards the expense of cutting a new set of Saxon types expressly for the Grammar, and Wanley was applied to by Robert Nelson on behalf of Bowyer, for a delineation of the Saxon characters, which he wrote out with scrupulous care and exactness; but he complains that "it signified but little, for when the alphabet came into the hands of the workman, (who was but a

* Preface to Elstob's Anglo-Saxon Homily, 7-8.

blunderer,) he could not imitate the fine and regular strokes of the pen; so that the letters were not only clumsy, but unlike those that he drew."* The types were some years afterwards presented by Bowyer, through Edward Rowe-Mores, to the Clarendonian.

We have before seen that Miss Elstob, as early as 1709, had designed the publication of an edition of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter, but, finding Wanley engaged on a work which included that, gave it up. She assisted her brother in illustrating Gregory's Pastoral, and had transcribed all the Hymns from an ancient MS. in Salisbury cathedral, for that purpose. After this, on the recommendation of Dr. Hickes and others, she engaged in the preparation of an Anglo-Saxon Homiliarium, with an English translation, notes, and various readings. An account of the plan was given in a little tract printed by Bowyer in 1713, entitled, "Some Testimonies of learned men in favour of the intended edition of the Saxon Homilies, concerning the learning of the author of those homilies, and the advantages to be hoped for from an edition of them. In a letter from the publisher to a doctor of divinity." From Ballard's MS. Preface to Orosius, it is evident that Dr. Hickes was the originator of this work, "well knowing the use which these homilies had been and still might be to the Church of England, he designed to publish, among other Saxon tracts, a volume of Saxon homilies;" but from a want of encouragement he was unable to carry on any one of these designs, yet it was no small pleasure to see the most considerable of them attempted by Miss Elizabeth Elstob.†

In August 1713, Miss Elstob addressed a letter to Harley, Earl of Oxford, who had patronized her first publication, hoping he would take some favourable notice of her new and larger undertaking, and soliciting his interest with the Queen in procuring for her the royal bounty. In March following, (having meanwhile sent him a specimen and proposals,) she waited on him; and her personal application appears to have been successful, as we find her shortly afterwards acknowledging his

* Nichols's Bowyer, p. 498.

† Hist. Account of Textus Roffensis. Archæologia, vol. i.

lordship's kindness "in having done me the honour to obtain for me the royal bounty towards printing the Saxon Homilies;" and in August 1715 we find, from a letter of Miss Elstob to Thoresby, that she had had an audience of the Queen, from whom she received marks of approbation and encouragement.* In this year, the "Proposals for printing the Saxon Homilies in one volume folio" were issued from the press at the Theatre, Oxford, annexed to the following title-page of the intended work: "The English-Saxon Homilies of Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, who flourished in the latter end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. Being a course of Sermons collected out of the writings of the ancient Latin Fathers, containing the Doctrines, &c. of the Church of England before the Norman Conquest, and shewing its purity from many of those Popish innovations and corruptions which were afterwards introduced into the church. Now first printed and translated into the language of the present times by Elizabeth Elstob."† "The work consists of a collection of above eighty sermons and other tracts, that were preached upon Sundays and holidays in the English-Saxon Church, wherein is shewn the Doctrine of the Church of England, as it was taught seven hundred years ago, and how free it was from many of those errours and corruptions, which have been introduced since the time of William the Conqueror." Then follow "The PROPOSALS."

"I. That the book, which will contain about 120 sheets, shall be printed upon as good paper, and with the same letter, as the specimen; and shall be adorned with several initial letters, and other embellishments engraved by a very good hand.

II. That it shall be put to the press by Michaelmas next; by which time, 'tis hoped, that such a convenient number of subscriptions may be had, as will better enable the publisher to go on with the work.

* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iv. 133. Thoresby's Correspondence, ii. 301.

† Archæologia, vol. i. Historical Account of the Elstobs, in Bib. Top. Brit.

III. That upon payment of thirty shillings, half whereof, viz. fifteen shillings in hand, and the other half when the book is finished, a compleat copy shall be delivered.

N. B.—That there will not be above two dozen more printed than are subscribed for.

Subscribers are desired to give their names and titles, that they may be printed with the book."*

Not more than nine sheets were printed, although the whole work was transcribed and collated for the press, and a considerable portion translated. The collection is now amongst the Lansdowne MSS., British Museum.† From the Rev. S. Pegge's Memoir of the Elstobs, we learn that in the transcript of the unpublished portion of the Textus Roffensis, which Mr. Elstob intended to publish in his edition of the Saxon Laws, he and his sister employed James Smith, a lad ten years of age; which transcript they afterwards collated and examined together, finishing the whole in the space of three months.‡

Miss Elstob drew up in 1738 a sketch of her life, and presented it to Ballard, for his Memoirs of Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain. From the cynical account of a contemporary of Miss Elstob, we learn that "she was of an ancient family and genteel fortune; but pursuing too much the drug called learning, and in that respect failed of being careful of the one thing necessary." For some time she supported herself by keeping a school at Campden in Gloucestershire, but this failing, she was in her latter years taken into the family of the Duchess-dowager of Portland as tutoress, "where we have

* MS. Lansdown. 373. The MS. in five volumes was in 1747 offered to Ballard for five guineas, but his poverty prevented him from purchasing it. Copies of so much as was printed are occasionally to be met with. Daniel Prince, the bookseller of Oxford, in 1781, purchased several amongst a bookseller's old stock; but the work has now become very scarce. From a letter of Richard Gough to Prince, it would appear that the latter had intended, by the assistance of Gough and others, to complete the publication of the unfinished Homiliarium. See Catalogue of the Rev. C. Mayo's books sold in 1815.

† MS. Lansdown. 370-4.

‡ The Elstob transcript, MS. Harl. 1866, is said to be in Miss Elstob's own hand.

visited her in her sleeping-room at Bulstrode, surrounded with books and dirtiness, the usual appendages of folk of learning. But if any one desires to see her as she was when she was the favourite of Dr. Hudson and the Oxonians, they may view her portraiture in the initial G *of the English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory.*"*

* E. R. Mores's Dissertation, p. 29.

CHAPTER VI.

It is with pleasure that we notice the activity which the clergy and dignitaries of the church displayed in the promotion of the Saxon learning. William Nicolson, bishop of Carlisle, and Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, were very zealous in the cause. We find them both encouraging Hickes, by obtaining subscriptions for his Thesaurus, and in recommending the work amongst their friends and correspondents. Bishop Gibson we have already noticed as the editor of the Saxon Chronicle. An edition of the Saxon Laws, it is supposed, he had at one time intended; and to him, perhaps, are we indebted for suggesting the foundation of an Anglo-Saxon lecture at Oxford. Bishop Nicolson, in particular, was an ardent promoter of the Northern learning. Every one acquainted with English history must have seen his "Historical Library," and have felt what a help, in the beginning of their studies, that book has been to them. The bias of his mind towards these studies might have arisen from the circumstance of his transcribing Junius's large Lexicon for Bishop Fell, when he was a very young man.* His first attempt in the Saxon appears to have been a grammar of that tongue, to which allusion is thus made in the English Historical Library: "Bishop Fell was earnest with Dr. Marshall (late rector of Lincoln College) to draw up a [Saxon] Grammar; and he devolved the work upon one much more unfit for the em-

* Life of Nicolson, prefixed to his Correspondence, 2 vols. 8vo, 1809. The authority is a note of Humphrey Wanley, in his own copy of the Historical Library, in the Bodleian Library.

ployment, who had made some collections to that purpose."* An edition of the Saxon Chronicle was another of his intended labours, but, from the causes already stated, it devolved upon another. In 1703 his opinion was solicited by Smith, respecting an edition of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. He promoted and encouraged the publication of Wilkins's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, bestowing a pension on the editor to assist him whilst preparing the work for the press. It would appear also, that some plan for the establishment of an Anglo-Saxon lecture in each of the Universities, had been in contemplation, and which received his recommendation, besides that of Gibson and others. On Dr. Wilkins's solicitation he wrote a dissertation on the Feudal Law of the Saxons, which is prefixed to Wilkins's Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ. His residence at such a distance from the metropolis probably was the reason why he never engaged in the editing of any Anglo-Saxon works; but his advice was often solicited, and freely given, on almost every publication relating to that language which was undertaken, or issued from the press, during the earlier portion of the eighteenth century.†

Several minor works about this period may be mentioned, as illustrating the activity of the Saxonists of England, resulting from the publication of Hickes's Thesaurus, and the improved means which had been afforded, by the printing of that work and others, for the acquisition of the language. In 1713, John Chamberlayne printed a collection of the Lord's Prayer in various languages, in which were inserted several Anglo-Saxon versions. To this work Bishop Nicolson contributed a Preface, and Dr. Hickes had also been applied to for an introduction; but having been made acquainted with that which Nicolson wrote, he declined it. A title-page prepared for this work, differing materially from the one used, is in the Harleian Library. There is also a list of the versions, amounting to 130 in number, which is wanting in the

* Nicolson's Historical Library, p. 42. Folio, 1736.
† Nicolson's Correspondence, *passim*.

printed work.* An edition had appeared some years before. Soon after the publication of this improved work, it was pirated and published at Amsterdam in the year 1715. Prefixed to Sir John Fortescue's "Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy," 8vo, 1714, is a very interesting Preface on the utility of the Anglo-Saxon Language, and of the Study of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, written by John Fortescue-Aland, which appears to have often been a source of information to others, which they have not scrupled to use without acknowledgment. The collections which Elstob had made for the Anglo-Saxon Laws were for some time in his hands, lent to him by Miss Elstob, for we find Wilkins writing to his great patron, Bishop Nicolson, expressing his wishes to be favoured with a sight of them.

In the year 1719 appeared Harris's History of Kent, containing the Will of Byrhtric,† in Saxon, with an interlinear English translation; and the laws of Ethelberht, Hlothere, and Eadric, now printed for the first time from the Textus Roffensis,‡ with John de Laet's Latin version corrected, printed in parallel columns; to which was added the Will of Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, Saxon and English.§ In another part of the work we have an account in Saxon of the maintenance of the bridge-work at Rochester, (first printed by Lambarde in his Perambulation of Kent in 1576,) with an English translation.‖ The whole of the Saxon in this work is printed in Roman letter, the author justly remarking, "there being but few letters in which the Saxon differs from the present English character, I have thought best to print it in that character."¶ In the ensuing year, Hearne printed the "Textus Roffensis," from a transcript, now in the Harleian Library.**

* MS. Harl. 6841. 7.

† Harris's Kent, p. 201-3. See also Lambarde's Perambulation, p. 357. Ed. 1576. Hickes's Diss. Epist. p. 51.

‡ Harris's Kent, p. 401, 404, 410.

§ Ibid. 515.

‖ Ibid. 260.

¶ Ibid. 201.

** MS. Harl. 6523. Fairly written on 56 leaves of vellum. Subjoined are nine smaller leaves, "Interrogatio Sigewoulfi Presbiteri," in Saxon.

A short catalogue of Saxon MSS., already noticed, he also printed the same year, at the end of Robert de Avesbury's History of Edward III., entitled, "Libri Saxonici qui ad manus Joannis Joscelini venerunt."* The same year the Rev. John Johnson, vicar of Cranbrook, published "A Collection of all the Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons, Answers, &c. of the Church of England, from its first foundation to the Conquest, that have hitherto been published in the Latin and Saxon tongues. Now first translated into English, with Explanatory Notes," &c. 2 vols. 8vo, 1720. The translation appears to have been made by himself. The copy of Spelman's Laws, which Somner had enriched with valuable notes and emendations, being of considerable use to him during its progress.

The edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, undertaken by Dr. Wilkins, soon after the death of Elstob, was published in folio, 1721. Many particulars of the work, during its progress, are to be found in the letters of Wilkins to Bishop Nicolson, published amongst the correspondence of the latter. The first notice is under date of August 1716. "The sum of the Saxon pension may be what it will. I am infinitely obliged to your lordship for bestowing it upon me, and shall strive to deserve it by publishing what your lordship shall approve of. I do not question if, in progress of time, I could print something in that study, worth his majesty's dedication, a grant for a perpetual establishment of a royal lecturer in both universities might easier be obtained than it seems it can now."† He then states that the Saxon Laws, which, according to Dr. Hickes's proposal, he was to compare, collate, augment, and illustrate with the German and Danish laws, had been begun by Mr. Elstob; and, hearing that Elstob's papers had passed into the hands of his sister, he solicits his lordship's intercession with Judge Fortescue-Aland to obtain a sight of them, adding, that by winter he should forward a plan of his design, and a specimen for his lordship's approval.

He was not only patronized by Bishop Nicolson, but by Dr. Timothy Godwin, bishop of Kilmore, and Archbishop

* Roberti de Avesbury, p. 267-8.
† Wilkins to Nicolson, vol. ii. 447.

Wake; for in one of his letters he says, "His grace promises me some Notes upon the Saxon Laws, which I hope will persuade my lord bishop of Lincoln [Gibson] and Mrs. Elstob to communicate whatever observations and collections they may have made."* The collection of Elstob he could not prevail upon his sister to let him have in sufficient time to be of any use; for he writes, on one occasion, "I want nothing of his whole collection but the transcript of Somner's Notes upon King Henry's laws, which I or any body else that can read Latin may copy at Canterbury. I would fain save my eyes in such a transcription."† We find Wilkins, in the following year, soliciting Nicolson for a dissertation upon the Saxon Laws, which he afterwards wrote for the work; and Baron Fortescue "promised to give an abstract, with some occasional additions to his preface, as far as it in particular relates to the Saxon Laws."‡ Notwithstanding the encouragement which he received, and the want of such a work at the time, the editor assures us that he lost by its publication nearly a hundred pounds, expenses which he had incurred in gathering materials together; but he expresses his readiness to be employed upon any other Saxon work, as soon as the edition of the Laws was completed.§

Wise, in the year 1722, reprinted Asser's "Annales Rerum Gestarum Ælfredi Magni," to which he added King Alfred's Preface to St. Gregory's Pastoral, from the Junian MS. LIII., with a Latin translation. The same year, a valuable edition of Bede's Ecclesiastical History was published by Smith at Cambridge, containing, first, the Latin text; then the Anglo-Saxon translation of King Alfred, followed by a few charters and other instruments, in the same language. The year following, Hearne published a volume of considerable value

* Wilkins to Nicolson, Sept. 26, 1716, vol. ii. 448-9.

† Ibid. ii. 462.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. 470. The second edition of Fortescue on Monarchy, which came out in 1719, is here meant.

§ Dr. Wilkins was also the author of an "Essay upon the English Tongue, showing its derivation from the Saxon," &c.; if we may credit the authority of Mr. Thomas Thorpe, in whose catalogue of 1400 MSS. 1836, appears for sale, the unpublished autograph MS. together with Dr. Wilkins's Common Place Books.

to the Anglo-Saxon student, entitled "Hemingii Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis." In the second volume of the collected works of Selden, by Dr. Wilkins, 1726, appeared the "Procemium regularis concordiæ Angliæ nationis monachorum sanctimonialumque orditur," which, five years before, had been inserted in the Paris edition of the works of St. Anselm.* The same year, a second edition of Somner's Gavelkind was published, in which his life, by White Kennet, with additions, was inserted. The appendix contains some charters, &c., in Saxon, accompanied by English or Latin translations. Hearne, in his edition of "Johannis Glastoniensis Chronica," printed the poetical fragments on the death of Byrhtnoth, from a MS. in the Cotton Library, since burnt.† He also added the Law of Athelstan respecting coiners, (before printed in Wotton's Conspectus,) in Saxon, with an interlinear English version.

The celebrated "Orator" Henley, in his zeal for teaching every thing that he knew, as well as in attempting to teach what he did not know, gave the world, in 1726, a second edition of his "Complete Linguist," containing, amongst other things, "An Introduction to an English Grammar; A Compendious Way to master any Language in the world; A Dissertation on the Saxon, and a Grammar of it; being No. X. of the Complete Linguist." In the preface he professes to give a History of the Gothic tongues, on which but little reliance can be placed. The grammar, extending to sixty-one pages, appears to be an imperfect abstract of that of Hickes, published in the Thesaurus. The first edition of this collection was in 8vo, 1719, entitled, "The Complete Linguist, or an Universal Grammar of all the considerable Tongues in being," &c.

In 1735 was published the first edition of Wotton's Conspectus of Hickes's Thesaurus, "translated by Maurice Shelton of Barningham Hall, in the county of Suffolk, Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said county." The

* It had before this been printed by Selden, in his Notes to Eadmer, folio, 1623.

† It was then MS. Otho, A. xii.

work appears, notwithstanding the high opinion that the author himself entertained of it, to have fallen still-born from the press. A letter of Clarke to Bowyer, about the period, thus sarcastically alludes to it:—"I am so much surprised at the achievement of your friend in Suffolk, that I know not what to say to it. He must surely have a great love for translation, to think of undertaking such a work; or, perhaps, he might imagine that it would give him a considerable figure among his brethren of the quorum, and show that he was acquainted with our laws in their first original, and able to take them, as *Ralpho* did first matter—

All alone,
Before one rag of form was on."*

Edward Rowe-Mores also mentions Wotton's book as being "translated into English by Mr. Shelton for his own improvement, and published to show that one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace may have sense and learning. Further use of the publication we know not; for those who seek after this, or any other sort of knowledge, will have recourse to the original."†

But Shelton's object was a more laudable one; nor was he alone in wishing to see such a desirable object effected, namely, that of making the study of Anglo-Saxon more popular than it had been, by rendering the Saxon text into English instead of Latin. This was the object of Miss Elstob in her English-Saxon Grammar, and in her Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory, as well as in her larger collection of Homilies, also accompanied by an English translation. The Queen, too, patronized the Saxon learning; and Miss Elstob, as well as others, thought that the Saxon tongue might even become the study of many of her own sex. The same motives seem to have guided Henley in his Saxon Grammar; and Shelton has observed in his dedication, that he was not without hopes that some, unable to read the originals, would at least read his translation; and that those who

* Nichols's Bowyer, 142.
† E. R. Mores's Dissertation, p. 27.

could, may be the more easily induced to resort to the originals themselves.* So far, then, we must admit that this translation merits our commendation. To the same effect writes one of Shelton's correspondents:—"If our antiquaries, in their translations of the Saxon laws and antiquities, had followed another method, and given us an English instead of a Latin interpretation, it would have been much more natural and easy; first, as there is no sort of analogy between the Latin and the Saxon; and, in the next place, an English translation would at the same time preserve the original Saxon, and give us the propriety of the present English. For want of which, several words pass for obsolete, or rather barbarous, which, if regard be had to the original Saxon, they are genuine and significant."†

On the publication of the first edition, it was favourably noticed in the "Literary Magazine, or Select British Library," for March 1735. From the Preface to the second edition, we learn that Mr. Lye, although a mere stranger, wrote him two letters in commendation of his book, "full of the Gothic and Saxon learning." Another, whom he styles a Cornish gentleman, "genteely and handsomely expressed his approbation" in a letter to him, recommending him to pursue his intention (announced in the preface to the first edition) of publishing an English translation of Hickes's Epistolary Dissertation, together with his other dissertations in the same language. Notwithstanding the unsuccessful result of the first impression, he ventured upon a second two years afterwards, the first having become scarce, though from what cause, unless the destruction of the copies, we cannot tell. "The expense of both impressions," he tells us, "has been wholly my own, which was not inconsiderable, and is likely never to be made up to me." Afterwards we are told, that if this second edition has the good fortune of answering his expectations better than the first, so as to run off with a quick sale, he shall offer in due time, in some of the best newspapers, "Proposals for printing by subscription, (without which he would not pro-

* Preface to Shelton's Translation of Wotton, p. iv. Ed. 1787.
† Ibid. p. vi.

ceed,) Dr. Hickes's Epistolary Dissertation to Sir Bartholomew Shower, to which I have been earnestly courted by some learned gentlemen." With the exception, however, of certain portions of this Dissertation, which he has given in the notes to his translation of Wotton, he appears to have done nothing towards the work, although it is probable that Hickes's Preface was translated by him, or some other individual, about this time.* At the end of the "Short View" are the Testaments of Æthelflede, widow of Duke Athelstan, and of Ælflede, widow of Brihtnoth, Hymnus Athanasii, and certain Laws concerning coiners, all of which are given in Saxón, followed by English translations. The tract written by Thwaites on Saxon Money, first printed in Latin, 1708, is then added in an English version; the Saxon Alphabet with the compounds, and some remarks on the same, conclude the work.

Dr. Wilkins, in the year 1737, published an enlarged and much improved edition of the "Conciliæ Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ," in four folio volumes. In the publications of Widmore, "An Enquiry into the Time of the First Foundation of Westminster Abbey," 1743, and "History of Westminster Abbey," 1751, will be found two or three Saxon charters relating to his subject. About this time, an Anglo-Saxon Grammar was compiled by Dr. Squire, but never printed. He, however, published, in 1745, an Enquiry into the Constitution of the Anglo-Saxon Government, reprinted with additions in 1753.

A new impulse was given to the Saxon learning in the year 1750, by the establishment of an Anglo-Saxon Lecture in the University of Oxford. Dr. Richard Rawlinson "gave, by indenture, the yearly sum of L.87, 16s. 8d., the rents and profits of certain estates which he inherited under the will of his grandfather, Daniel Rawlinson, to the University of Oxford, for the maintenance and support of an Anglo-Saxon

* Preface to Translation of Wotton by Shelton, xiv. xv. In a London bookseller's Catalogue for 1835, I observe amongst other things bound together, "Hickes's Preface to his Thesaurus, with the Passion of the blessed Stephen, the Proto-martyr, Saxon and English," &c.

Lecture or Professorship for ever;" but, from some cause or other, this desirable object was not carried into effect until many years afterwards. The particulars of Rawlinson's bequest were published in 1755, at Oxford, in a tract, entitled, "The Deed of Trust and Will of Richard Rawlinson of St. John Baptist College, in Oxford, Doctor of Laws, concerning his endowment of an Anglo-Saxon Lecture, and other Benefactions, to the College and University of Oxford."* Dr. Rawlinson also made a collection of Charters, Deeds, &c., of many of which he had fac-similes engraved, intending the work apparently for publication.

A new edition of Cædmon was in contemplation about this period, in which several persons had engaged to take a share. It was proposed to print the Saxon text, with an English translation to be made by Edward Lye, accompanied by engravings from the illuminations in the MS. Fifteen plates were engraved at the expense of Edward Rowe-Mores and Dr. Charles Lyttleton.† James Fletcher agreed to pay all the expenses of printing. Wise had been engaged on a Dissertation on the true age of Cædmon, the Saxon Dialects, &c., and Ballard was to have had some share in the work. At the suggestion of Dr. Lyttleton, the MS. Index to Cædmon, compiled by Junius, (which had migrated from the Bodleian to Queen's College,) was to have been printed and annexed to the engravings, and the whole work was by him recommended to the Antiquarian Society for publication, but without success. The original engraved plates are now in the possession of Sir Henry Ellis of the British Museum.‡ Some corrections which Junius had made in his own copy of Cædmon were printed by Edward Rowe-Mores in 1751, at Oxford, entitled, "Notæ in Cædmonis Paraphrasin," in two leaves 4to, and are occasionally met with bound up at the end of Junius's edition.

* Although not scarce, I have been unable to meet with this tract.

† With the following title, "Figuræ quædam antiquæ ex Cædmonis monachi Paraphraseos in Genesim Exemplari in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservato delineatæ; ad Anglo-Saxonum Mores Ritus atque Edificia seculi præcipue decimi illustranda in lucem editæ. Anno Domini M.DCC.LIV."

‡ See Thorpe's Cædmon, Introd.

In the year 1755, the first edition of Johnson's Dictionary was published in two volumes folio, a work of immense labour and industry, which has done more to give a fixed character to the English language than any book that has ever been printed. We are not surprised that its learned and indefatigable author has been assailed with bitterness and invective, or that where malice has been unable to detect a flaw in his learning, the rancour of party spirit has been called to its aid by those who have sought to depreciate the value of his labours to enhance the merit of their own. To the Dictionary, Dr. Johnson prefixed a short History of the English Language, with extracts from works written at different epochs, beginning with Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translation of Bœthius; this is followed by the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel in Anglo-Saxon, and Wickliffe's version of the same, in parallel columns. These are succeeded by a poem in Norman-Saxon, and a long quotation from the Saxon Chronicle, between the years 1135 and 1140: then follow other works in Middle English, &c., illustrating the progress of the language from the age of Alfred to that of Elizabeth.*

At no period does the Anglo-Saxon language appear to have wanted students and patrons from the time when the Saxon lecture was founded by Sir Henry Spelman, although it occasionally languished. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the increasing wants of those who were desirous of acquiring a knowledge of the language, led to the formation of various plans for its promotion. A new edition of Cædmon we have just mentioned. George Ballard (who had been the friend of the Elstobs, and, in particular, assisted Miss Elstob, when in her latter years she was surrounded by penury and want) was a zealous labourer in the same cause. Originally bred a habit-maker, in which occupation for many years his daily hours were spent, the time which he employed in learning Saxon was stolen from sleep. His friend Browne Willis lent him a Saxon Dictionary, which he wholly transcribed,

* Johnson's Dictionary, 1st Ed. 1755. This History is to be found in all the unabridged editions of the Dictionary. Some additions were made by Todd, which will hereafter be noticed.

(being too poor to purchase one,) adding to it nearly a thousand words, collected from his own reading. He also made a transcript of Alfred's Orosius, with the intention of publishing it. To this he prefixed a very interesting sketch of the utility of Anglo-Saxon literature. This work he bequeathed to Bishop Lyttleton, and it was by him presented to the Society of Antiquaries, in whose library it still remains.*

The name of Edward Lye will live in the grateful memory of those whose knowledge of Anglo-Saxon has been derived from the pages of his elaborate work. After completing his college education, he was presented to the living of Houghton-Parva, in Northamptonshire, where he laid the foundation of his knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. A few years afterwards he edited and superintended the publication of Junius's Etymologicon Anglicanum, prefixing to it an Anglo-Saxon Grammar of his own. In the year 1750 he printed an edition of the Gothic Gospels, by the desire of Dr. Eric Benzelius, bishop of Upsal, and prefixed to it a Gothic grammar. In this year he was presented to the vicarage of Yardley Hastings, by the Earl of Northampton, and soon after began collecting the materials for an Anglo-Saxon and Gothic Dictionary. He devoted many years of unwearied labour to this work, without any one to share it with him; and, having printed a specimen sheet, was compelled, from apprehension of the further great labour required, the precarious state of his health, and the great expense of printing such a work, for a time to relinquish it.†

Dr. Ducarel, Archbishop Secker's librarian at Lambeth, by desire of that prelate, offered him access to the stores of that library; but Lye tells him in reply, that since he had lost his patron, Lord Granville, he had nearly laid aside all thoughts of appearing again in print. Archbishop Secker, to prevent the abandonment of a work of such undoubted value, and in which such great progress had been made, requested Dr. Ducarel to write to him on the subject. "His grace has ordered me to request of you whether you have so totally laid aside your intention of publishing your Anglo-Saxon,

* Nichols's Anecdotes, iv. 115, 123, 129.
† Ibid. ix. 753.

Gothic, and Latin Dictionary, as utterly to reject all thoughts of proposing the printing of that valuable work by subscription? If not, I have his lordship's directions to inform you, that if such a proposal is made and agreed to by a number of gentlemen willing to forward it, his grace is ready to subscribe fifty pounds towards its publication."* This generous offer revived the sinking spirits of Lye. A few days afterwards, he wrote to Ducarel, thanking his Grace, and stating that he should with pleasure enter again upon the work, and hoped that his Grace's example would be followed by many others, so as to enable him to undergo the expense and trouble of the impression. "The trouble will not be little, as I have none to share with me in it, and the expense very considerable, as my time must be spent for the most part in London and Oxford."† He appears to have formed a proper estimate of the value of his labours. "You know," he writes to Ducarel, "of what service the book will be both at home and abroad. In Germany they have, unknown to me, given an account of the specimen I printed for the use of my friends, and express an earnest desire of having the whole make its appearance in public."‡

The MS. was at length completed, but its author lived to print about thirty sheets only of the work. He died in 1767, leaving its completion, together with the subscription, to his friend and countryman, the Rev. Owen Manning, who, after

* Ducarel to Lye, June 25, 1765. Nichols's Anecdotes, ix. 753.

† Lye to Ducarel. Nichols's Anecdotes, ix. 753. Prefixed to the Dictionary is a list of subscribers' names, at the head of which stands "His Grace the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Fifty pounds."

‡ Nichols's Anecdotes, ix. 753. This "Specimen for the use of his friends," I have been unable to trace; but in Michel's work, under 1767, there is the following notice of a similar work, said by him to be in the possession of Mr. Singer of the Royal Institution; but which the date affixed to it precludes us from believing is the same. The title is, "Proposals for printing a Dictionary, Anglo-Saxon and English. A Work never before attempted. Also a Specimen of the Theology, Bequests, Grants, and Poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, literally translated. With some Account of their Surnames. And Rules for distinguishing their posterity from those of Norman and Danish Extraction. To which is prefixed a Saxon Grammar, and a Specimen of a Celtic Vocabulary. London: Printed for the Author, and sold by C. Marsh, at Charing-Cross; W. Owen, at Temple-Bar; and G. Keith, in Grace-Church Street. M.DCC.LXVII." 2 leaves in 4to.

four years close application, in which time he made considerable additions to the MS., published it in 2 vols. folio, 1772, from the press of Allen of Bolt Court; prefixing a perspicuous account of the rise and progress of the work, in a Latin Preface, accompanying it with an Anglo-Saxon and Moeso-Gothic Grammar. The Appendix at the end of the second volume contains, 1. A Fragment of Ulphilas's Version of the Epistle to the Romans; 2. A Collection of Charters from Astle's MS. Collection; 3. A Sermon on the Times of Antichrist, written about the reign of Edward the Confessor; 4. A Fragment of the Saxon Chronicle; 5. Manumissions.

It has been the fashion, amongst some of our modern scholars, to depreciate Lye's work. It is therefore gratifying to find a gentleman of unquestionable talent rendering to it the following just tribute of approbation:—"The diversity in the spelling of a word is of the greatest importance to one who would ascertain the true pronunciation of the Anglo-Saxon. While the writer is groping about him for proper letters, we guess the sound he wished to express, by assuming some middle sound between the letters he employs. In this respect we owe a thousand thanks to Lye, who gives us the Anglo-Saxon words as he found them, and never alters the orthography to suit his own views. At the head of his articles he occasionally attributes to the word a vowel that it has not. For instance, he puts the *a* in staff and lat, which these words have only when a second syllable is added, as in late, stafa; when monosyllables, they are written stæf, a *staff*, læt, *late*. Whether he considered the vowel he inserts as the primitive one, or did not know the laws of permutation in Anglo-Saxon vowels, matters not, as it is impossible to be misled by them standing alone and without any authority. He, moreover, rectifies his faults by his citations, in which neither staff nor lat occur. Such trifling defects should not obscure his immense merits in faithfully giving us the vowels of the Anglo-Saxon authors, with all their odd and lawless exertions to express the sounds they heard."*

* Halbertsma's Dissertation on the Friesic Language; inserted in the Preface to Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, on the Origin and Connexion of the Germanic Tongues, p. xxxviii.

The Society of Antiquaries, in the year 1770, by the publication of the first volume of their Archæologia, opened a new medium of communication, which we have much reason to regret has not sufficiently been made available to the cause of Saxon literature. In the first volume some account of the Elstobs was inserted, written by the Rev. Samuel Pegge, who also, in the same work, has given "A copy of a Deed in Latin and Saxon, of Odo, bishop of Baieux, with Observations," &c.* Besides which, he is the author of "A Series of Dissertations on some elegant and very valuable Anglo-Saxon Remains," and other works. A work on the coinage of the Anglo-Saxons was published about this time with the following title: "The Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, deducing the Antiquities, Customs, and Manners of each people to Modern Times, particularly the Origin of Feudal Tenures, and of Parliaments, &c. by William Clarke."

The Elstob transcript of Alfred's version of Orosius, which had found no one to undertake the task of editor, was now taken in hand by the Hon. Daines Barrington, with the promise of aid from Gough and Manning. In the preface, the editor tells us, that, by some rather singular accidents, he had become the editor and translator of the work. The transcript which he used as his text (that made by Elstob) "was once the property of Mr. Ames, who had thoughts of publishing it, as appears by a letter from him in 1739 to the late Mr. Lye. After Mr. Ames's death, it was purchased by the Rev. Mr. Pegge, who destined it for a much more able editor, [the Rev. Owen Manning,] but on his declining to print it, from being engaged in other publications, Mr. Pegge permitted me to make the same use of it."† He calls himself the editor and translator of the work, but, from some of his letters to Gough, it is evident that the latter and Manning assisted him very materially in both offices. In the first place, Manning went over the MS., separating many words, and correcting it before the translation was begun. Gough, also, in a letter to

* Archæologia, vol. i. p. 337.
† Barrington's Orosius, 1773, Pref. p. xx.

Barrington, says, "I submit to you whether it might not be offered to his (Manning's) revisal from the press. I dare say he would think it no trouble, and it might easily be transmitted to him in covers, and returned by the same method. I do not by this decline the office of corrector myself, but as Mr. Manning is so very conversant in Saxon matters, I think his corrections will ensure more exactness to a publication in which you take so much interest."* Subsequently we find Barrington acknowledging to Gough the obligation he had conferred for having obtained Manning's corrections, who had "prepared the MS. more thoroughly for the press." In the Preface we learn, that "he could not, unfortunately, procure a copy of Lye's Dictionary till he had finished some part of his translation." In his letters to Gough we find his anxiety to procure the Dictionary, or the Grammar, or any portion of the work that was printed, and stating, that it need only be known to himself, Gough, and Manning, lest the other subscribers should complain; and this, with his double subscription, to obtain the earliest copy, and his particular wish expressed to Gough, that Manning should correct the proof sheets, satisfactorily shows to us, that, in editing the Anglo-Saxon Orosius, he had undertaken a task for which his ignorance of the language totally unfitted him.†

The voyages of Ohthere and Wulstan, inserted in, and forming a portion of, Barrington's publication, had been published by Bussæus, at Copenhagen, in the year 1733. They were this year reprinted in the second volume of Langebeke's "Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi, Copenhagen, 1770," (which contains also the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kings,) and a few years afterwards at Paris, in a French translation of J. Reinhold Foster's History of Northern Discoveries.

In the year 1775, Ibbetson published a "Dissertation on the Folclande and Boclande of the Saxons;" to which, in a

* Gough to Barrington, Oct. 30, 1771. Nichols's Illustrations, v. 592.

† See the Correspondence in Nichols's Illustrations, vol. v. The impression was probably 250. Barrington says, "Bowyer talks of 250, but I think if they much exceed 100 the greatest part will rot in his warehouse."

second edition in 1782, were added, under the title of "Three Dissertations," &c., a second, "On the Judicial Customs of the Saxon and Norman Ages," and a third, "On the National Assemblies under the Saxon and Norman Government." In 1776, M. Houard published at Rouen a Treatise on the Anglo-Norman Laws from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, the first volume of which contains a dissertation, in which an abstract of the laws made by the kings under the Heptarchy is given, and compared with the capitulary of the laws of the first race of French monarchs.

The original germ of the "Diversions of Purley" issued from the press in 1778, in the shape of "A Letter to J. Dunning by John Horne Tooke." If we may credit the opinion of Coleridge, "all that is worth anything (and that is but little) in the Diversions of Purley, is to be met with in this pamphlet."* The opinions of others are much more favourable, and his system has been adopted by several distinguished scholars. The first part of the "Diversions of Purley" was published in octavo, 1786. It was subsequently enlarged to two volumes quarto, the first published in 1798, and the second in 1805. The recent editions of 1829 and 1839 will be noticed in their proper place.

Warton's History of English Poetry, published in successive volumes between 1774 and 1806, was another valuable accession to our native literature, and one which met with great encouragement. The first volume was reprinted with additions. The work was printed at Oxford, as we learn from a letter of Prince the bookseller to Nichols: "As Warton's History of English Poetry says, 'London, printed,' &c., you might think it was done there. The impression is 1500, of which 1300 go off directly of each volume."† In Henry's History of Great Britain, the first edition of which appeared in 1774, versions of the Lord's Prayer in the Saxon, and other kindred languages derived from the ancient Gothic or Teutonic, were inserted, and an extract from the Saxon Chronicle with an English translation. The valuable but expensive publi-

* Coleridge's Table Talk, i. 121.
† Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iii. 696.

cations of Strutt are worthy the notice of the student of the history, customs, manners, and language of the Anglo-Saxons. In the "Horda Angel-cynna" are several engravings from Saxon MSS. In the second volume of his "Chronicle of England, 2 vols. folio, 1775, embracing the period from the accession of Egbert to the Norman Conquest," will be found the Lord's Prayer; part of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel; part of the first chapter of Genesis; the Belief; and the Exordium of the poem of Cædmon; all of which are given in Saxon with interlinear translations, followed by the Lord's Prayer paraphrased in Anglo-Danish, with an English version.

The "Will of King Alfred," from a MS. in the possession of Mr. Astle, was printed in the year 1788. Manning undertook the part of editor, illustrating it with notes and an introduction, and accompanying it with English and Latin translations. The Rev. Herbert Croft superintended the publication of the work. It was printed at the Clarendon press, Oxford. Of this work Henshall, who intended to print an edition of Alfred's Will himself, remarks:—"It is wonderful, I will not say disgraceful, to the world of scholars, that in Alfred's Will by Lye, Manning, and Croft, the introduction, which empowered Alfred to dispose of his demesnes, &c., is confounded with the Will itself, and fills one page. When I manifested this to Mr. Astle from his original, he exclaimed, 'What blockheads!'"* Manning had been solicited by Gough to give an English translation of Cædmon, who promised to be at the expense of printing it, together with the original text; but either from Manning's inability for the task, or his modesty, it was never proceeded with.†

Of Samuel Henshall little that is commendatory can be said. In 1798, he published "The Saxon and English Languages reciprocally illustrative of each other; the Impracticability of acquiring an accurate Knowledge of Saxon Literature, through the Medium of Latin Phraseology, exemplified in

* Henshall's Etymological Organic Reasoner, 1807, p. 64.

† A copy of Junius's Cædmon, interlined with a Latin translation by Lye, and some notes by him and Manning, is in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. Gent. Mag. 1835, p. 197.

the errors of Hickes, Wilkins, Gibson, and other Scholars, and a new mode suggested of radically studying the Saxon and English Languages, by Samuel Henshall, M.A., Fellow of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, and Author of Specimens and parts of the History of South Britain. London, printed for the Author, and sold by Nicol, Pall-Mall. M.DCC.XCVIII." The title of this work I have inserted at length, not from any intrinsic value that it possesses, but as affording some clue to that persecution which followed the author ever afterwards, and in which several individuals who then stood high in the literary world partook, and by their unceasing hostility attempted to hunt him down. In this they eventually succeeded, and it is doubtless to this cause that we must attribute that aberration of mind which his subsequent works display.

A work relating to Ælfric, left in manuscript by Edward Rowe-Mores, and which he intended for publication, was in the year 1789 edited, with the addition of a preface, and published by Grimus J. Thorkelin, under the following title: "De Ælfrico Archiepiscopo Dorobernensi Commentarius," from the autograph in the library of Thomas Astle. At the end is a large collection of Saxon charters, with Latin translations. The same year we find a correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine, under the signature of Bristoliensis, inquiring "What writings in our ancient Anglo-Saxon tongue are still in being in print and MS.? What dictionaries, grammars, glossaries, and the like, have at any time been put forth, for the better understanding of the same?"* In 1798, Dr. Willich, to his translation of Kant's Elements of Critical Philosophy, added "Three Philological Essays," from the German of Adelung. In the first of these, containing a concise history of the English language, we have the often quoted fragment of Cædmon from the texts of Hickes and Wanley, accompanied by English and German prose translations. In the same sketch are given the voyages of Ohthere and Wulstan; and a short poem on the Topography of Durham in the Anglo-Saxon texts, followed by versions in English and German. The

* Gent. Mag. March 1789, p. 254.

remaining part of the Essay, chiefly from Warton's History of English Poetry, it is not requisite farther to notice here.

In the year 1795, a Saxon professor was elected in the University of Oxford. From some unexplained cause or other the design of Rawlinson was not carried into effect before this period. Daniel Price, in a letter to Gough, thus alludes to the subject: "Dr. Richard Rawlinson's Saxon professorship takes place at Michaelmas next. St. John's is to furnish the first professor, as that college was Rawlinson's. After this the colleges are to give professors according to antiquity, as University, Baliol, Merton, &c."* Four years afterwards, Richard Gough bequeathed a most valuable collection of books on Saxon and Northern literature to Oxford University, expressly for the use of the Saxon professor. Some of these works are illustrated with the notes of various Saxon scholars, and others with his own. Amongst them will be found an interleaved copy of Gibson's Saxon Chronicle, with notes and an English translation of Gough's. The above valuable collection, together with his extensive library of British topography, he at first offered to the trustees of the British Museum on certain conditions, which not being accepted by them, they were deposited in the Bodleian Library. A catalogue of them was published in 1814 by the Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel.

From certain particulars of Rawlinson's will, under date of 1750, printed in the second appendix to "Ingram's Inaugural Lecture on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature," it appears that the trustees for carrying into effect Rawlinson's bequest were the vice-chancellor and two proctors of the University of Oxford, and the president of St. John's college, for the time being; to whom was subsequently added the regius professor of divinity, &c. By a codicil to the will, added in June 1752, the election was vested in the convocation; the chair to be vacated every ten years, the several colleges, in succession, enjoying the right of election; St. John's to have the first and every fifth turn. The professor, to be duly quali-

* Price to Gough, Oxford, March 18, 1795.

fied, was to be a "bachelor and single man" so long as he held the professorship; he must be a regular, not a created graduate, and have duly performed the usual exercises for a degree. By a subsequent codicil, dated July 25, 1754, natives of Scotland, Ireland, and of the Plantations abroad, or any of their sons, and all present or future members of the Royal and Antiquary Societies, were excluded. From the fourth and last codicil, dated Feb. 14, 1755, the period of ten years, in which (according to a previous clause in the will) the professorship could be held by any one individual, was limited to five years. To give every publicity to his intentions, and to ensure their being duly carried into effect, he required that a copy of his will, and of the several codicils, be given by his executors to Mr. James Fletcher of Oxford, bookseller, to whom he gave permission to print them, "in order to perpetuate the same, and be a check upon all concerned, as well as to be a direction to them."*

* Rawlinson's Will. Ingram's Lectures, 4to, 1807, p. 38, App. II.

CHAPTER VII.

With the nineteenth century began a new era in Saxon literature. The publication of the first edition of Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons in successive volumes between the years 1799 and 1805, appears to have excited an attention not only towards their history, but by the addition to it of an account of their language and literature, a slow but gradually increasing attention has been awakened; a deep, and, from time to time, a still deeper interest has been created amongst us, as one after another of the literary productions of our simple and unpretending ancestors have been brought into view from their sleep of ages, till at last we forget the dim glimmerings of light which appeared in the sixteenth century in the effulgence which now surrounds our path.

Although we have reason to believe that this increasing attention would have been given to these subjects, from the ordinary progression attendant on human productions when accompanied by favourable circumstances, at the same time a careful examination of the subject must satisfy us that the research which, within a few years past, has characterized the inquiries into the institutions, laws, and polity of the Anglo-Saxons, has been in a great degree the offspring of a previous acquaintance with the pages of Sharon Turner's highly interesting and instructive work. "The Anglo-Saxon MSS.," says Mr. Turner in the Preface to his third volume of Anglo-Saxon History, "lay still unexamined, and neither their contents, nor the important facts which the ancient writers

and records of other nations had preserved of the transactions and fortunes of our ancestors, had been ever made a part of our general history. The Quida, or death-song of Lodbrog, first led the present author to perceive the deficiency, and excited his wish to supply it. A series of careful researches into every original document that he had the opportunity of examining was immediately begun and steadily pursued, till all that was most worth preserving was collected from the Anglo-Saxon MSS. and other ancient books. The valuable information thus obtained the author endeavoured to give the public in a readable form in this work, of which two-thirds have not before appeared in English."*

In Ellis's " Specimens of the Early English Poets, to which is prefixed an Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the English Poetry and Language," 3 vols. 8vo, 1801, appeared some account of Saxon poetry, with a specimen, being the " Ode on Athelstan's Victory at Brunanburh," to which a metrical version by Henshall was added. A very interesting account of the origin and progress of writing in England, with fac-similes from Anglo-Saxon and other MSS., was given, in a work by Mr. Astle, in the year 1803, the first edition of which appeared in 1784. The following year, a second and much enlarged edition of Mitford's " Inquiry into the Principles of Harmony in Language, and of the Mechanism of Verse, modern and ancient," gave us specimens from Alfred's metrical version of *Bœthius* and other Saxon poems, useful to us, perhaps, as displaying how very little sound criticism at that period had been brought to bear on Anglo-Saxon poetry.

An " Inaugural Lecture on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature," by the Rev. James Ingram, Anglo-Saxon professor, was printed at Oxford in 4to, 1807. To this he added the " Geography of Europe, by King Alfred, including his account of the discovery of the North Cape in the ninth century." He has first printed the Anglo-Saxon text, (in Roman letter,) and afterwards his English translation, together with the notes

* Turner's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. Introd. A more detailed account of this work will be given in a subsequent page. Successive editions in 1807, 1818, 1823, 1828, and 1838, show the estimation in which it has been held by that best of all possible judges, the many-headed public.

of J. Reinhold Forster, from Barrington's Orosius, 1773. The author appears to have entered on his office with zeal, but when he tells us that "a few hours attentively dedicated to Saxon literature will be sufficient to overthrow the authority of every dictionary and grammar of the English language that has been hitherto published,"* we feel bound to state that it far outruns discretion. He determined, however, to aid as far as lay in his power the cause of Saxon learning. Besides the Saxon, he was under the necessity of cultivating an acquaintance with other Northern languages, to carry his plans fully into effect, of which he has left on record the following account: "I am now preparing a few essays on the following subjects:

I. On the Saxon Chronicle, with Specimens of an English Translation of that original document.
II. On the Gradual Formation of the English Language upon the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon.
III. On Saxon Poetry, comprehending the Dano-Saxon and Norman-Saxon.
IV. On the Laws, Government, Religion, Manners, &c. of the Saxons.
V. On what is called Saxon-Architecture."†

Being satisfied that, in giving in his Inaugural Lecture an account of the many eminent scholars who had promoted Saxon literature, he had not done them the justice which their exertions so well merited, he tells us that if health and leisure permit, it is his intention to publish a kind of "Biographia Anglo-Saxonica, or Select Lives of Anglo-Saxon Scholars."‡ Another work, which, from the Preface to his Inaugural Lecture, he appears to have had some intention of publishing, was Alfred's Orosius. "The translation of Orosius," says he, "is one of the most extraordinary productions of this kind; and as an epitome of ancient history, it well deserves to be more generally known, but for that purpose it ought to be

* Ingram's Lecture on the Study of Anglo-Saxon.
† Ibid. p. 33.
‡ Ibid. p. 8, Note.

correctly printed, *which has not yet been done.* If, however, the public should think it important enough, I can only say, that, as far as it depends on me, *it shall be done.* It is time that the fame of Alfred, and the unvarnished language of our Saxon ancestors, should no longer be sullied by the errors of later ages, and the ignorance of superficial pretenders to refinement."*

Samuel Henshall's "Etymological Organic Reasoner, containing the Gothic Gospel of St. Matthew, with the corresponding English, or Saxon, from the Durham Book of the eighth century;" with Observations on the works of Whiter and Horne Tooke, was published in numbers during the year 1807. Some proposals appear to have been issued for a work in three volumes, of which only four numbers (included in the above work) came out. During the course of publication, finding that persecution still followed his steps, on the recommendation of some literary friends, he added to the fourth number an "Occasional Preface," with a title-page. The work he dedicated to the late Richard Heber, Esq. whose valuable collections were freely opened to him, as they were afterwards to hundreds of others, with most praiseworthy liberality by their truly liberal owner.

In his preface, Henshall tells us that the obstacles and falsehood that he encountered in the publication of his Gothic Gospel, from Antiquarians, Blackstonians, Electioneering Oxonians, Reviewers, Low Churchmen, Presbyterians, Methodists, and others, are almost incredible. A bookseller opposite the Exchange returned the numbers he had to Mr. White, (his publisher,) and would not sell them; and he complains that Mr. Cook of Oxford had written two discouraging letters from the University, where a Saxon professor is established; and the minor critics reported in the Bibliopolite circle that he should never edit a second number. From these circumstances he declares himself unable to gratify the wishes of his friends, who were desirous of having his disquisitions on Saxon literature in one volume; but he adds,

* Ingram's Lecture on the Study of Anglo-Saxon. Preface.

"I will send them to the press with great additions, alterations, and emendations, whenever I have the names of 100 subscribers, at six shillings each, entered at Mr. White's."

Still writhing under the lash which his critics unmercifully and unjustly applied to him, he was constrained to publish their names to the world. In August 1798, being requested to do so, he waited upon Mr. Reeves of the Anti-Jacobin Review, who expressed a wish that Henshall should assist Mr. John Gifford in that work. About a month afterwards, Mr. Reeves, he tells us, made the following observations to him:— "Perhaps, Mr. H., you are little aware that, in the October Reviews, your Saxon and English languages, reciprocally illustrative of each other, is agreed to be damned, in the Gentleman's Magazine, by Gough, the Saxon professor, and another; in the Analytical Review by Mr. Horne Tooke and the two editors; and I am applied to by Mr. Beloe to expose your total ignorance of the Saxon language, lest the British critics should comparatively be thought to possess only glimmering eyes."* To prevent the possibility of any denial of this statement, he refers to the several reviews of his work in the month of October 1798. "To counteract such machinations," he adds, "I am reduced to the necessity of publishing my present works in octavo periodical numbers, which shall appear the first day of each month, if my health permit my studies. Each number will contain one sheet of the Gothic Gospels, and one sheet of Saxon from the Durham book, collations from the Rushworth Gloss, and one sheet of offensive and defensive reckonings."† "Next month, I propose to print the first part of Alfred's Will for my introductory sketch, with illustrations of the tenures of places there mentioned, from Domesday," &c.‡ Henshall erred in supposing that *will* only was required to carry into effect the plans which he had formed; whereas *knowledge* was equally requisite. To the latter, although he made pretensions, he could not sustain

* Etymological Organic Reasoner, Preface, p. 15. I offer no apology for giving the particulars of this vile conspiracy, and, as affording a specimen of the motives by which it is to be regretted, modern literary criticism is too often characterized.

† Etymological Organic Reasoner, p. 15. ‡ Ibid. p. 64.

them; but, as a man, he deserved at the hands of his critics and persecutors a far different treatment to that which he received.

The "Romance of Octavian, Emperor of Rome, abridged from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, printed for private distribution only," by J. J. Conybeare, in 1809, contains two extracts from Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase, the Speech of Satan, and the Overthrow of Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the Red Sea.* In the following year, Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church was printed at Newcastle; it is called the second edition, but when the first appeared, or whether this is any thing more than the first with a new title-page, I am not aware. It is, however, a valuable work, and may be read with advantage, along with the publications of the Rev. H. Soames, and others, who have written on the Protestant side. A French translation of the second edition appeared at Paris in 1828. The same year "An Historical Account of the Saxon and English Versions of the Scriptures previous to the opening of the Fifteenth Century," was given to the world by the Rev. H. Baber, as an introduction to his edition of Wickliffe's New Testament, and to which, on matters of this kind, we may refer with confidence.

About this period a very extensive plan for the promotion of Saxon literature had been projected by the Rev. J. Webb of Birmingham, as we learn from some particulars in Bosworth's Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar. Mr. Bosworth states, that Mr. Webb's MSS. were with great liberality placed in his hands by Mrs. Webb, and Dr. Edward Johnstone of Edgbaston Hall, near Birmingham; and from Mr. Webb's *Agenda* we are made acquainted with his plan, the works intended, and what progress towards completion had been made by their author.

"1. A Grammar of the primitive, intermediate, and modern English tongue. The primitive or Anglo-Saxon to be made as complete as possible; the intermediate to consist principally of such notices of the progress and changes of the lan-

* Romance of Octavian, p. 50-5. See also Thorpe's Cædmon, 23, 195-8.

guages as may be necessary to elucidate and correct the other two.

2. Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon. Either a reprint of Somner, Lye and Manning, or a methodical work like Mair's *Tyro's Dictionary*, with an *Index*.

3. Reprint of Anglo-Saxon works in English characters. Saxon Gospels — Heptateuch — Psalter — Laws — Alfred's Works—Chronicle.

4. Orthographical Collections, Illustrative of the Grammatical History of the English Language, from the Norman Conquest to the age of Milton. In two parts.

Part I. Tracing the language upwards to its earliest period, 1 vol.

Part II. Tracing the language downwards from its earliest period, 2 vols.

Subdivision of Part II. English before Wickliffe; from Wickliffe to the Reformation; from the Reformation to "Paradise Lost."

5. Grammar of the Mœso-Gothic.

6. Gothic Dictionary.

7. Gothic Gospels in English characters.

8. Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Wickliffe's and Tyndal's Gospels, in four parallel columns in the English character."*

We are then made acquainted by Mr. Bosworth with the state of Mr. Webb's MSS. when they came to his hands on the 30th September 1820.

For No. 1, the *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, considerable preparation was made; for the *Intermediate* a few notes only; for the *Modern English*, none. For No. 4, very considerable extracts properly arranged were made. Part of the Mœso-Gothic Grammar also prepared. The Gothic Gospels were found transcribed in modern characters. For Nos. 2, 3, 6, and 8, no preparation made. Mr. Bosworth acknowledges his obligations to these MSS. for part of Orthography, some lists of Adverbs, and the substance of many notes.†

* Bosworth's Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar, xxxv-vi. 1823.

† Ibid. 1823, p. xxxvi.

On the Continent a gradually-increasing attention had been given to the subject of Anglo-Saxon literature. The first edition of Grimm's "Deutsche Grammatik," a portion of which is devoted to the Anglo-Saxon, was published in a single volume in 1812. Professor Thorkelin of Copenhagen (whom we have already mentioned as the editor of a work relating to Ælfric) printed the poem of Beowulf, with a Latin translation, in the year 1815, under the following title: "De Danorum Rebus gestis Secul. III. et IV. Poema Danicum Dialecto Anglo-Saxonica. Ex Bibliotheca Cott. Mus. Brit. ed. Versione Lat. et Indicibus auxit Grim. J. Thorkelin," &c. The transcript (of the original, which had been somewhat damaged by the fire at Cotton-house in 1731,) he made whilst on an antiquarian visit to this country in the year 1786, and prepared a translation for the press as early as 1807, but the whole was unfortunately destroyed in the siege of Copenhagen. At the request of his patron, Lord John de Bulow, he made another translation, and to whom he dedicated the work.* It is difficult to reconcile the conflicting testimony of Mr. Turner relative to this publication. In one place he observes, "As a first translation of a very difficult composition, I ascribe great merit to Dr. Thorkelin," and almost in the same page we have the following: "On collating the Doctor's printed text with the MS., I have commonly found an inaccuracy of copying in every page: but for a first publication, he has been on the whole unusually correct. As I very often differ from him in the construction of the original, I have attempted to convey the ideas of the poet in a version of my own."† This perplexing account to the general reader, if he relies on the statement made, must leave him in some doubt as to the true merit of Thorkelin's publication, when, from Mr. Turner's acquaintance with the MS. (having collated the printed text with the original,) we might infer, that he was well able to pronounce a judgment.

It is supposed that Thorkelin published a translation, and

* Turner's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, iii. 288.
† Ibid. iii. 288-9.

an Anglo-Saxon text also of the Gospel of Nichodemus, probably from the copy at the end of Thwaites's Heptateuch.* In the year 1817, an Anglo-Saxon Grammar in Danish was printed at Stockholm, with the following title, "Angelsaksisk Sproglære tilligemed en kort Læsebog ved R. K. Rask." Of this valuable work, an English translation was published a few years since, by Mr. B. Thorpe, which will be more particularly noticed. A year or two afterwards, a Danish paraphrase of the poem of Beowulf was made by Dr. Grundtvig, and published by him at Copenhagen in 1820. "To this were added, both by himself and Rask, a vast number of conjectural emendations of Thorkelin's text, nearly all of which are in reality the readings of the MS. In the Preface was included a copy of the Fight of Finnesham."†

Our countrymen, in the meanwhile, were not idle. The Rev. J. J. Conybeare, in the fourth volume of the "British Bibliographer," 1814, gave the fragment above mentioned, on the battle of Finnesburh, accompanying it with versions in Latin and English, and a Preface. Several communications on Anglo-Saxon literature by him, read in 1811, and the two following years, before the Society of Antiquaries, were published in Vol. XVII. of the Archæologia in 1814. Two or three years afterwards, Mr Conybeare announced a volume to be entitled, "Illustrations of the Early History of English and French Poetry." The profits of this work on its publication he intended to appropriate to the erection of a parochial school in a village with which he was connected, and where the means of the inhabitants were inadequate to the purpose. In the work were to be included, 1. The poem of Beowulf, accompanied by a Latin, if not an English, translation; for which purpose he had collated Thorkelin's text with the MS. in the Cotton Library, and in a great measure re-translated the work. 2. A remarkable poem, hitherto inedited, from the MS. of Saxon poetry, given by Bishop Leofric to the library of Exeter cathedral, (about 1070,) containing an enu-

* Kemble's Letter in Michel, p. 28.
† Ibid. p. 28.

meration of the persons and tribes visted by a wandering bard, apparently toward the commencement of the sixth century. 3. Extracts from various other poems contained in the Exeter MS. 4. Other notices of Saxon poetry, already edited by Junius, Hickes, and others, so as to complete a general survey of the poetry of the Anglo-Saxons.* But the death of this amiable scholar prevented him from carrying into effect this very laudable undertaking. It was, however, with some variations in plan, completed by his brother, the Rev. W. D. Conybeare, and published in 1826.

In the new and splendid edition of Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1818, we have several Saxon charters, accompanied by translations in Latin. "Johnson's Dictionary, enlarged by the Rev. H. J. Todd, 4 vols. 4to, 1818," contains, in the History of the English Language prefixed, some additions from Saxon works. In this year also we are indebted to Serjeant Heywood for a valuable "Dissertation upon the Distinctions in Society, and Ranks of the People, under the Anglo-Saxon Governments." This work deserves to be much better known than it is, and the student of Anglo-Saxon will, on a perusal, have no cause to regret the labour bestowed. Its scarcity and high price have hitherto made it almost a sealed volume to the many; and I cannot point out a more desirable present to the English public that its publishers could bestow than a reprint, at a reasonable price, under the care of a judicious editor.

The want of an elementary grammar was attempted to be supplied, in the year 1819, by the Rev. J. L. Sisson, whose "Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar; to which are added a Praxis and Vocabulary;" although a praiseworthy attempt, was defective from its very method, in which the author considered the chief merit rested. "In the arrangement of this work," says he, "the plan of Dr. Valpy's excellent Latin Grammar has been adhered to, as closely as the peculiarities of the two languages would permit." The work, he also states, was compiled with a view of presenting to the public, in a compressed

* Gent. Magazine, August 1817, p. 102-4.

form, the principal parts of Dr. Hickes's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, a book now seldom to be met with.* The author has, however, followed Manning in the declension of nouns and in some other particulars. The whole is comprised in 84 pages, of which the vocabulary occupies six.

The merit of having printed the first English version of the Saxon Chronicle is due to Miss Gurney of Keswick, Norfolk, which was done in the year 1819, at Norwich, in a 12mo. volume, although not published. From the short Preface we learn the reason why the publication of it was not proceeded with. "The following version of the Saxon Chronicle was undertaken by a lady in the country, who had only access to the printed texts. It was far advanced towards its completion before she was informed that the public was speedily to be indebted to the Rev. Mr. Ingram for a collated edition of these singularly valuable annals, accompanied by a translation and notes."† The version is in prose, and unencumbered by either text or notes, and so far calculated for popular use.

"A Lecture on the Study of Anglo-Saxon. Read before the Vice-Chancellor, and printed at his request," attributed to the Rev. Thomas Silver, the Anglo-Saxon professor, was printed at Oxford in 1822. The year following was published "The Saxon Chronicle, with an English Translation, and Notes, critical and explanatory. To which are added, Chronological, Topographical, and Glossarial Indices; a short Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language; a new Map of England during the Heptarchy; Plates of Coins, etc. By the Rev. J. Ingram, B.D., &c., 4to, London, 1823." From his preface we learn that this work had been in contemplation many years before, whilst surrounded by duties of a more pressing nature; but at that time nothing more was contemplated than a reprint of Gibson's text, with an English, instead of a Latin, translation. For the early part of the Chronicle he claims the indulgence of the Saxon scholar, if it should be found that he had too faithfully followed the

* Sisson's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, Advertisement.

† A Literal Translation of the Saxon Chronicle, 12mo. 1819. Preface.

received text.* He acknowledges his obligations to the very reverend the dean of Bristol for his ingenious and sensible remarks on many parts of the work, and expresses his fears that the polite condescension of the dean, in relinquishing his own plans, had deprived the world of a more interesting work than he was enabled to offer. The work intended by Dr. Beeke, as described by himself, was to be comprised in two volumes.

"Vol. I. Introduction, text, and translation on opposite pages, in the same type, with the material variations subjoined.

"Vol. II. A new map, with various notes and dissertations."†

The original plan of Mr. Ingram was not essentially different. In the published volume he has given the Anglo-Saxon text of the Chronicle, with an English translation in parallel columns, (being a 4to page;) and in the preface, which contains an account of the various MS. Codices known, he has stated that he intended to add to it a volume of "Illustrations," to include Ethelwerde's Epitome of Saxon History, Dissertations, &c. The decision of the House of Commons to print the work of Mr. Petrie, which would include much that he intended to insert in this volume, induced him to relinquish it.‡ From the same preface, we learn the very high estimate which the editor had formed of the work he had undertaken to usher into the world. "Philosophically considered," says the learned editor, "this ancient record is the second great phenomenon in the history of mankind. For if we except the sacred annals of the Jews, contained in the several books of the Old Testament, there is no other work extant, ancient or modern, which exhibits at one view a regular and chronological panorama of a people described, in rapid succession, by different writers, through so many ages, in their own vernacular language."§ At the end of the Preface is "ANGLE-SÆXENA STÆF-CRÆFTE, or a Short Grammar of the Anglo-

* Preface to Saxon Chronicle, 1823.

† Ibid. p. xvii.

‡ See the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Record Commission, folio 1836, [3389, et seq.]

§ Preface to Saxon Chronicle, p. iii.

Saxon Language," included in eight pages; which he states he had ventured to give, "rather for the sake of convenient reference in reading the Saxon Chronicle, than with a view of affording complete rules for the study."* He adds, as an additional reason, that a grammar was then in the press, which would more effectually aid the student in acquiring a knowledge of the language, than any thing with which he could present him for that purpose.

The grammar of the Rev. J. Bosworth, to which allusion is made, was then on the eve of publication, and which, it was reasonably supposed, would be a valuable accession to the few elementary works which then existed for the prosecution of the study of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. It bears the following title:—"The Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar, with copious Notes, illustrating the Structure of the Saxon, and the Formation of the English Language; and a Grammatical Praxis, with a literal English Version," &c. The Preface contains some extracts from Ingram's Lecture on Saxon Literature, a work which at that time was rarely to be met with; but since, from the discovery of several copies at Oxford, by no means difficult to procure. From this, and two or three other works, he has given some remarks on the history and use of the Anglo-Saxon, and an account of all the grammars of the language to the period of his own publication; a long "Introduction on the Origin and Progress of Alphabetical Writing," (including a letter from the Rev. Chas. O'Connor on Ancient Alphabets, &c.,) occupying thirty-four pages, then follows; which, although it contains much that is interesting to the Saxon student, is certainly out of place in an elementary work of this kind. Facing the title we have an engraved plate, containing fac-similes of Saxon writings from the seventh to the tenth century. In the Grammar we find a large preponderance of notes, amounting to nearly twice as much as the text; and in some instances, too, of that attractive kind, that the student will oftener be disposed to read them, than learn the rules contained in the text.

* Preface to Saxon Chronicle, p. xxxvi.

Following the MS. collections of Mr. Webb, and preceding authorities, he has given four cases only of nouns. The number of declensions he has limited to three, which he has adopted from Lye. Dr. Hickes and Henley enumerate six; Thwaites has seven; Manning four; Sisson, following Manning, has also four; and Rask six. The "Epitome," by Mr. Bosworth in 1826, and the "Essentials," prefixed to his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, like the present work, have only three. In Prosody, the author seems to have been much indebted to the papers of Mr. Conybeare, published in the Archæologia. A short sketch of the Anglo-Saxon Dialects with specimens is given; and at the end a Praxis on the Grammar, occupying about seventy pages, consisting of extracts from the following works, invariably accompanied by English translations in parallel columns. 1. The Scriptures. 2. Ælfric's Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory. 3. Ælfric's Sermon on the Creation, (*from the unpublished Homiliarium of Miss Elstob.*) 4. 5. Saxon Chronicle. 6. On the Compilation of Domesday Book, (*from the same.*) 7. 8. The Letter of the Britons, and Speech of a Saxon Ealdorman, (*Smith's Bede.*) 9. Alfred's Preface to his Translation of Bœthius, (*ed. Rawlinson.*) 10.–22. Alfred's Bœthius. 23. Cædmon's Poetical Paraphrase. 24. 25. The Metres of Bœthius. 26. 27. The Song on Athelstan's Victory at Brunanburh, and the Song on Edgar's death, from the Saxon Chronicle.

Another Grammar appeared this year under the title of "STÆF-CRÆFTE; or an Anglo-Saxon Grammar, Anglo-Saxon Extracts, and a Glossary to the Extracts, by E. Thomson. 8vo, Ayr, 1823."* A new edition of "Warton's History of English Poetry," much enlarged by Mr. Richard Price, came out in four volumes, 8vo, 1824. The editor, in a preface extending to 120 pages, as well as in the notes, has with ability discussed several interesting points connected with the subject of the Anglo-Saxon poetry and romances. At the end

* The authority for the statement in the text is a notice in a London bookseller's Catalogue, 1838, in which it appears for sale. On making inquiry for it, to my regret I learnt that it was sold.

of the first dissertation we have a "Note on the Saxon Ode on the victory of Brunanburh," which includes the text, and an English translation, together with illustrations from the versions of Turner and Ingram, and critical remarks. On comparing the texts, as well as translations of this poem, considerable variations will be found between those of Turner, Ingram, Bosworth, and Price. In a new edition of Warton's History, now preparing for publication, the additional corrections subsequently made by Mr. Price will, it is believed, be incorporated. At the end of his edition of Warton, Mr. Price announced a volume of "Illustrations" to that work, in which were to be comprised, a Glossary of all the obsolete words occurring in it; an Examination of Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer; and the Anglo-Saxon Poem of Beowulf, with a literal English version. The plan of Mr. Price appears to have been superseded by the engagement of Mr. W. D. Conybeare in carrying into effect the design left unfinished by the death of his brother. Mr. Conybeare, who had been appointed by the Record Commission to prepare the Anglo-Saxon Laws for publication, declining it from the pressure of other engagements, the work devolved upon Mr. Price, who, in all likelihood, would before now have completed their publication had he not been prevented by death. Mr. Price also edited an improved text of the Saxon Chronicle, accompanied by an English Translation, Notes, &c., the greater part of which has for some time been printed, but not yet published. It forms a part of the Materials for the History of Britain, projected by Mr. Petrie, and intended for publication by the late Record Commission.*

The Classical Journal for March and June 1825, contains a notice of an "Introduction to the Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar, by the Rev. J. Bosworth;" and in the following year came out his "Compendious Grammar of the Primitive English or Anglo-Saxon Language," in a thin 8vo, containing the substance of the most valuable portion of the "Elements," published in 1826, with some additional observations.

* See Minutes of Evidence and Report, folio 1836.

This Grammar, as it is shorter, less overburthened with quotations, and more to the purpose, is superior to the former one.

In the "Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, by J. J. Conybeare, edited, together with additional Notes, &c., by his brother, W. D. Conybeare, 8vo, 1826," there is so much that is interesting, that a more detailed account of its contents would have been given had the limits of this work permitted it. As it is, a mere outline only can be given, referring the reader to the volume itself for additional information. The original plan of the work (as already mentioned) appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1817. The author subsequently gave up his intention of printing by subscription, intending to complete and publish it at his own risk and cost. A few sheets only of the work had been printed before death terminated his labours. From this event the task of editor devolved on his brother, who made very considerable additions, which are specifically pointed out in the Table of Contents. The Introductory Essay on the Metre of Anglo-Saxon Poetry contains a reprint (from the Archæologia, vol. xvii.) of the first and second Communications to the Society of Antiquaries, by the author, which is followed by a Comparative View of the Icelandic and Ancient Teutonic Metres, an Investigation of the Celtic Alliterative Metres, and an Essay on the Derivation of the later English Alliterative Metres from the Anglo-Saxon. An Arranged Catalogue of all the Extant Relics of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, divided into classes, occupies from p. lxxvi. to p. lxxxvi. of the Introduction, which is followed by an English prose translation of the Poem on the Death of Byrhtnoth.

The "Illustrations" commence with an account of the Hymn of Cædmon, followed by the Song of the Traveller. The next is an account of the Poem of Beowulf, with an Analysis and Metrical Versions of considerable portions of it; after which we have the original text, with a literal Latin translation, given in parallel columns; and, at the end, a Collation of Thorkelin's Text, with the original MS. in the Cotton Library, and Notes. The Appendix contains, 1. The Fragment on the Battle of Finnesburh. 2. Specimens from

the Junian Cædmon. 3. An Introductory notice and description of the contents of the MS. of Saxon Poetry given to the Church of Exeter by Bishop Leofric, in the eleventh century,* with Specimens from it, (some of which had already appeared in the Archæologia.) 4. Specimens from Alfred's Version of Bœthius. 5. The Norman-Saxon Poem on Death, (from the Archæologia.) In the whole of the Illustrations, (excepting Beowulf,) we have first, the Anglo-Saxon text with a literal Latin version in parallel columns, and afterwards a free metrical translation into English, which can give us, however, a very imperfect conception of the original. But, with all its faults, this volume should always find a place amongst the collections of the Anglo-Saxon scholar. The Metrical Paraphrase of Cædmon, we were led to expect also at the hands of Mr. W. Conybeare; but, either from a want of interest on the part of the public, or a want of encouragement from those who take an interest in such publications, he was prevented from carrying it into effect.

About the same period, as we learn from the above work, an edition of Alfred's translation of Bœthius had been announced for publication, but which did not appear until 1829. In the meanwhile, "The Will of King Alfred, reprinted from the Oxford Edition of 1788; with a Preface and additional Notes," was printed at Leicester in 1828, under the care of Mr. Cardale. It may not, perhaps, be out of place here to give some account of the work mentioned at the commencement of this chapter, namely, Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.† The first and second volumes make us acquainted with their general history; and in the third we have an account of their customs, manners, dresses, amusements, the classes and conditions of society, their education and method of instruction. But what is more to our purpose, we have in Book IX. some account of their Poetry, Literature, Arts, and Sciences. The first chapter gives a general account of

* Mr. Kemble, in an article lately read before the Society of Antiquaries, has made us acquainted with the author, or probable author, of the poetry in this volume. See Gentleman's Magazine for January 1840, p. 75.

† The remarks in the text refer to the edition in 3 vols. 8vo, 1828. Another edition has just appeared, but with what additions I do not know.

their native or Vernacular Poetry. In Chapter II. we have an account of the Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poems or Romances, and a particular account of the Poem of Beowulf, together with an analysis and a version, in English, of considerable portions of it. Chapter III. contains notices of the Poems of Judith, and Cædmon; then follow some poems from the Exeter MS., the first of which is the Song of the Exile; the second, the Hymn on Creation; to which is added the short poem on Death. Besides which we have a paraphrastical version of the Lord's Prayer in metre, and metrical Gloria Patri. The Saxon text is accompanied by an English translation. The fourth Chapter treats of Anglo-Saxon Versification. The fifth on their Latin Poetry. Chapter VI. contains The Anglo-Saxon Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat, &c. In the typography of this work, (perhaps a minor subject for remark,) a little more care might have been taken, to give the Anglo-Saxon text uniformly either in the Saxon or in the Roman character; and not, as it is given, sometimes in one and sometimes in the other. The price of the work, in the first place, gives the public a right to expect accuracy in these matters; and, in the next, the respectability of the names of both printers and publishers should be a sufficient guarantee that the public, in such a reasonable expectation, are not disappointed.

Mr. Cardale of Leicester, in the year following, gave the Saxon student a very useful book, in his edition of Alfred's Bœthius. In the English translation he has successfully attempted to preserve the idiom of the original, by making it as literal as possible; and, without parade or pretension of any kind, he has, in the short preface, given us a statement of the plan on which the translation was made, an account of the MSS., and an intelligent detail respecting the character and contents of the work. A short "Note on the Anglo-Saxon Dialects" overturns the theory of Hickes respecting their three-fold character. In addition to the prose translation of Bœthius, we are told that King Alfred "turned it again into song," and a specimen of this metrical version is given at the end of the volume. A particular notice and an analysis of Bœthius's work, and the character of the additions made to it by Alfred

in translating it into Anglo-Saxon, are given in Turner's History.* They afford us the fairest pattern that is yielded in the range of a thousand years, of a king earnestly desirous of promoting the welfare of his subjects.

The "Menologium, or Poetical Calendar of the Anglo-Saxons," with an English translation, and Notes by the Rev. Samuel Fox, was printed in 1830 at Leicester. He has, however, with slight variations, followed the text of Hickes's Thesaurus, in which it first appeared, instead of collating it with the original. For some of the notes the author acknowledges his obligations to the same source. The translation is very spirited, and appears to be given with correctness, although, in some instances, a lesser transposition would have been better. The preceding year, a new edition of "Tooke's Diversions of Purley," with the author's last additions, was edited and published by Mr. Richard Taylor, a gentleman to whose care and attention Anglo-Saxon students are much indebted for the accuracy with which many volumes in that language have been presented to them.

On the Continent, the Anglo-Saxon language appears to have engaged the attention of several eminent scholars. Much of this is to be attributed to the publication of the Grammar of Professor Rask; but still more to the great work of Dr. James Grimm on the Teutonic Languages. The first volume of a second edition of his "Deutsche Grammatik" was published in 1822, at Göttingen; the second volume followed in 1826, the third in 1831, and the last in 1837. "The system of this scholar," says Mr. Kemble, "which can henceforth alone form the basis of any philosophical study of the Teutonic tongues, rests upon two propositions; 1°. That the roots of these languages, their methods of declension, conjugation, and derivation, are common to them all. Time may have rendered some of them obsolete; but still there they are, under some form or other, in some one or other of their derivatives; 2°. That each language, according to fixed laws of its own, differences the common element. The knowledge of

* See vol. ii. p. 22, et seq.

the roots themselves, their modifications and gradual restrictions of meaning, must be sought in all the languages combined. The nature of each tongue determines the particular form that each root shall have in that tongue; hence we may sometimes, when at a loss for the meaning of a word, gain light upon the subject, by transferring the form in Anglo-Saxon to its equivalent in Gothic, Old Norse, or Old High Dutch. The only evil attendant upon this work is its vast extent; but, however it may terrify the idle, or baffle the dull, it is the most magnificent present ever made to Teutonic scholars; and, as I have had good reason to know, the Anglo-Saxon Grammar is beyond all comparison the most philosophical and complete that has ever yet appeared in Europe."*

A valuable Commentary on the Anglo-Saxon Laws was published by Phillips at Göttingen in 1826. The Laws of Canute appeared at Copenhagen the same year, in Latin, with various readings, accompanied by the Anglo-Saxon text; and, in 1830, Dr. Mone's "Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Teutschen Litteratur und Sprache," in which will be found several Anglo-Saxon interlinear Glosses. The *Heliand*, or History of our Saviour's Life, a poem in the *Old Saxon* dialect, was published the same year, by Dr. J. A. Schmeller of Munich, the only fault of which, Mr. Kemble observes, is the being founded on the Munich rather than the Cotton Codex. It bears the following title:—Heliand. Poema Saxonica Seculi noni. Accurate expressum ad Exemplar Monacense insertis e Cottoniano Londinensis Supplementis, nec non adjecta Lectionum Varietate, nunc primum edidit J. Andreas Schmeller, Bibliothecæ regiæ Monacensis Custos, &c. Monachii, Stutgartiæ et Tubingæ, 8vo, 1830." The work is generally known as Canute's Bible, and two MSS. only of it are known: the first is in the Cotton Library,† and the other (which was discovered in the year 1798, by Dr. Gley, at Bamberg) is now preserved at Munich. Dr. James, early in the seventeenth century, was the first to call attention to it. A transcript was made by Junius for publi-

* Kemble's Letter in Michel, p. 17, 18.
† MS. Cotton. Caligula, A. vii.

cation. Dr. Hickes has given extracts from it in his Franco-Theotisc Grammar; and some extracts were also published by Nyerup, in his *Symbolæ*, at Copenhagen, in 1787. The Grammar and Glossary to the work, promised in a second volume, have not yet appeared. Dr. Reinhold Schmid, professor of law at Jena, published at Leipsic, in 1832, the best edition we possess hitherto of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, accompanied by a German translation. Several critical notices of Anglo-Saxon works, indicating the progressive attention given to the language on the Continent, have appeared in periodical works in Germany and elsewhere, a particular account of which would be a grateful present to the English public.

With this rivalry existing amongst Continental scholars, it is not surprising to find an increasing attention and activity prevailing at home. An interesting and highly important work appeared in the year 1830, by the Rev. Henry Soames, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the year M.DCCC.XXX., at the Lecture founded by the Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury." In this work the author has ably defended the faith of the early English Church, and given large quotations from the Saxon Homilies, which fully and effectually establish his positions. These he has accompanied by an English translation. "Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle," published anonymously this year, is a work that contains much that is worth looking over; but, from the author not possessing any fixed plan, the whole presents a heterogeneous mass, which it is extremely difficult to separate, although the subjects he has investigated are very deserving of our attention. The main object of the author has been to individualize the particular writers of the Saxon Chronicle. This, it must be obvious, is an exceedingly difficult task; but he has laboured zealously, and to himself satisfactorily, in effecting the design he had contemplated, and which he sums up in the following account:—"I have given four principal names to the catalogue of early English authors, and have vindicated for *Ælfric, Stigand, St. Wulstan,*

and the prior *Nicholas*, four beautiful pieces—gems of pure history . . . . I have brought into day the mean and fraudulent *Malmsbury*, and the insatiable *Lanfranc*. I have vindicated the honour of the Saxon clergy and nation; and, above all, I have avenged *Ælfric*."* At the end, we have a few of the principal rules of the Saxon Grammar, and a Glossary of the Saxon words to be met with in the volume.

A work of a far different kind, and one to which we must certainly refer some share of the increased attention which has recently been given to the Anglo-Saxon language, was presented to the English public in this year, under the following title:—"A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, with a Praxis, by Erasmus Rask, Professor of Literary History in, and Librarian to, the University of Copenhagen, &c. &c. A new Edition, enlarged and improved by the Author. Translated from the Danish by B. Thorpe, Honorary Member of the Icelandic Literary Society of Copenhagen. *Copenhagen*, 1830. *Printed by S. L. Möller.*" This contains the whole of the additions which the author subsequently made to his work, besides which he co-operated with Mr. Thorpe whilst engaged on the translation. The grammar is preceded by a preface of sixty pages, which is chiefly occupied in a comparison of the Anglo-Saxon with the Icelandic. The first part, on Orthography, the author introduces by observing, "I have here not made the slightest innovation, but from many uncertain modes of writing, have adopted that which to me seemed best to accord with the material character of the tongue, and with other kindred dialects, especially the Icelandic."†

In exhibiting the structure of the Anglo-Saxon language, the author has adopted a change of order in the cases and genders, which, although he defends as natural, and indeed necessary, in every European language of the Japetic family, and actually in use in the Sanscrit, will, it is to be feared, rather retard than accelerate the labours of those who are

* Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle, p. 458. The author has supported his views by large quotations from the Saxon Chronicle.

† Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, by Thorpe, p. 2.

entering upon its study. The very order in which any language (the Latin, for instance) is acquired, becomes a law of association to the mind, which is found of very great assistance when entering on the study of another. The case, indeed, would be different if the study of the Anglo-Saxon preceded, instead of succeeding, as it generally does, that of the classical languages. In the order of progression which the Anglo-Saxon language assumed, from the period of the introduction of Christianity, it is natural to find that its Syntax followed the order rather of the German and Latin than of the Icelandic. The general use of Latin by the Anglo-Saxon clergy; the translations from that language, and native imitations of the works in it; in short, the general dependence on the Latin for its general literature in the earlier periods of Anglo-Saxon history, must have materially influenced the formation of our old mother tongue.

The latter portion of the work we have been noticing relates to the interesting subject of Anglo-Saxon Versification, which affords us correct views, in clear language, upon what is generally considered a very abstruse subject. The Praxis contains a selection from the Gospels, published by Junius and Mareschall at Dort, in 1665; extracts from Alfred's Bœthius; Canute's secular Laws; a Spell to promote the Fertility of the Land; Abbot Ælfric's View of the Old Testament; the fragment of the true Cædmon; a specimen from Cædmon, and one from Beowulf. At the end is a verbal index to the whole, referring to the pages of the grammar, which completes this truly useful work. An engraved plate, facing the title-page, contains the Saxon characters and abbreviations; and a specimen of Anglo-Saxon handwriting from the *Codex Aureus*, a Latin MS. containing the New Testament, preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm. Of a work of such intrinsic value it is painful to hazard a deprecatory remark; but should the learned translator publish a second edition, we trust he will substitute in the title-page London for Copenhagen; the peculiarity of its typography (to English eyes) would thus be avoided, and the work rendered no less useful thereby.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE increasing attention which the subject of the Anglo-Saxon language about this period received, naturally suggested a desire to make known what compositions lay hid in it, by publishing them to the world, and thus afford additional materials for thoroughly investigating its structure. The suggestion of a plan for this purpose, it is believed, originated with some foreign scholars, one of whom, Dr. Grundtvig of Copenhagen, (already noticed as the author of a Danish translation of Beowulf,) being on a visit to this country, receiving encouragement from some of our countrymen, issued a prospectus of his intended labours: "Bibliotheca Anglo-Saxonica. Prospectus and Proposals of a Subscription, for the Publication of the most valuable Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, illustrative of the early Poetry and Literature of our Language. Most of which have never yet been printed. Edited by the Rev. N. F. S. Grundtvig, D.D., of Copenhagen. London: Black, Young, and Young. MDCCCXXX." 8vo.

The first work intended for publication was an edition of Beowulf, with an introduction and a literal English version. This to form two volumes. The third volume to contain Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase, with the continuations or imitations that are to be found in the old edition, in the Heptateuch, or elsewhere. The fourth volume was to consist of a collection of miscellaneous poems from the Exeter book, with the addition of the Song on the battle of Brunanburh, and the other metrical pieces contained in the Saxon Chronicle, and the Funeral Song on the death of Byrhtnoth, or the Battle of

Maldon. Volumes 5, 6, and 7, to contain the Rhythmical Chronicle of Britain, supposed to have been written by a priest named Layamon at the close of the thirteenth century. The remaining three volumes to form an Anglo-Saxon *Homiliarium*, or mirror of the divinity of our Anglo-Saxon clergy. The work was to be printed by subscription, in octavo volumes of about thirty sheets each, and a volume to be published about every six months. The number of subscribers required was eighty.* The following year this prospectus was reprinted, with a list of the subscribers in the place of the books announced; but the plan was superseded by the announcement of a similar one by the Society of Antiquaries, whose prospectus I venture upon inserting at length, regretting at the same time that the zeal which that learned body displayed at the commencement of their undertaking should have so soon cooled after their first publication issued from the press.

"Prospectus of a series of Publications of Anglo-Saxon and Early English Literary Remains, under the superintendence of a Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

"The publication of the Remains of Anglo-Saxon and Early English Literature existing in manuscript, with the addition of such as have been imperfectly edited, or have become extremely rare, has long been thought highly desirable by persons attached to the study of our national Antiquities and Language. For the small portion of Anglo-Saxon learning already rendered accessible to the student, we are in some measure indebted to foreign scholars; and it has been deemed a subject of national reproach, that numerous Works of equal or greater importance (including many interesting volumes of History, Poetry, and Romance in the Anglo-Norman tongue) should have still remained unpublished. To supply these deficiencies, it was lately proposed to establish a new society, and a subscription was set on foot to carry that object into execution. The promoters of this measure thought it right, however, to submit it to the Society of Antiquaries, (of which many of them were Fellows,) as being entirely in accordance

* Gentleman's Magazine, May 1831, p. 451.

with the purposes for which that Society was founded; and it was, on mature consideration, determined by the Council to recommend that the Society of Antiquaries should take upon themselves the direction and execution of some of these Works at their own expense, receiving such a return for the outlay as the sale of them might afford. Accordingly, a Report to the above effect was laid before the Society; and the following Resolution having been suspended in the Meeting-room, during the period prescribed by the Statutes, was confirmed by ballot on Thursday, March 17, 1831:—

"Resolved, That it appears highly desirable that this measure be undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries; but, as its funds are inadequate to defray the whole expense, without interfering with its other publications, on the ordinary terms of distribution among its members, it appears expedient that copies of the intended publication be sold to the Fellows at half-price, and that an adequate price be fixed on copies for general sale; by which it is expected that a great proportion of the expense would be reimbursed to the Society.

"For the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing Resolutions, the Council, at their next meeting, appointed a Committee, consisting of the present officers, and nine other members selected from the Fellows of the Society, viz.:—

"The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T., *President;* Hudson Gurney, Esq., V.P.; Henry Hallam, Esq., V.P.; Right Hon. C. W. Williams Wynn, V.P.; William R. Hamilton, Esq., V.P.; Thomas Amyot, Esq., *Treasurer;* John Gage, Esq., *Director;* Nicholas Carlisle, Esq., K.H., Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., *Joint-Secretaries;* John Caley, Esq.; Francis Douce, Esq.; Edward Hawkins, Esq.; J. H. Markland, Esq.; J. H. Merivale, Esq.; Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H.; Henry Petrie, Esq.; Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart.; Edgar Taylor, Esq. To whom have since been added the Rev. J. Forshall; Sir Frederick Madden, K.H.; W. Y. Ottley, Esq.; Charles P. Cooper, Esq.

"The Committee have thought it desirable that Anglo-Saxon Works shall be printed in the ancient Characters, and be accompanied, in every case, with an English Translation.

"The two first Works for publication are—

"1. Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of parts of the Holy Scriptures in Anglo-Saxon; edited from the Bodleian MS., with an English Translation, Preface, Notes, and Verbal Index, by Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., F.S.A. The Illuminations, fifty-three in number, have been engraved by Mr. Basire, accompanied by fac-simile Specimens of the MS., and given to the Fellows of the Society in the twenty-fourth volume of the Archæologia, with a descriptive Notice of the MS. by Henry Ellis, Esq., which had been previously read at the Society's meetings. Separate copies of the Engravings and descriptive Notice have been struck off for sale.

"2. Layamon's Translation of Wace's Chronicle of the Brut, from the Cottonian MSS., Calig. A. ix., and Otho C. xiii., including the true Texts, to be edited by Sir Frederick Madden, F.S.A., with an English Translation, Preface, and Notes. This Work will be comprised in two volumes royal octavo. The period of its publication will be announced hereafter.

"Those Fellows of the Society who are desirous of possessing either or both of these publications, are particularly requested by the Committee to give their names, at as early a period as they may find convenient, to Mr. Martin, at the Society's Library.

"The Works will be printed by Mr. Richard Taylor, F.S.A., and the copies which are not disposed of to the Fellows of the Society will be sold by Messrs. Black, Young, and Young, 2, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden."*

In the year 1832, Mr. Thorpe, in accordance with the wishes of the Society, published Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase, the first work mentioned in the above prospectus. His preface contains some information respecting the literary history of the work, and a few other particulars, which is followed by the short preface of Junius to the first edition. Afterwards we have the account of Cædmon from Beda's Ecclesiastical History, with King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon, and

* Thorpe's Cædmon, Introduction, p. iii. iv.

the editor's English, translation, and a descriptive catalogue of the plates. The care and accuracy employed on the text of this poem are highly creditable to the editor, whilst his translation, which is rendered as literal as the subject allowed, is exceedingly spirited. Those who are acquainted with the "Paradise Lost" of Milton must be struck with the great similarity which that poem bears, in more than mere single passages, to the one before us. The verbal index, which Mr. Thorpe has given at the end of his work, is useful not only in reading the text, but also in enabling us to compare the several passages in which the same word occurs. To the lexicographer it will afford materials ready for use, with the references to page and line, by which his labours will be materially abridged. The system which Mr. Thorpe has adopted, of appending verbal indexes in his several publications, cannot be too strenuously recommended to the notice of every scholar, who shall henceforth edit any work in the Anglo-Saxon language. The engravings, fifty-three in number, to accompany the work, will be found in Vol. XXIV. of the Archæologia, preceded by an Account of Cædmon, from the pen of Henry Ellis, Esq., a Descriptive Catalogue of the Plates, and Observations on the History of Cædmon by Francis Palgrave, Esq.

In addition to the two works announced in their prospectus, the Saxon Committee added another; this was the collection preserved in the Library of Exeter Cathedral, already mentioned, and known as the Exeter Book. It is, I believe, preparing for publication by Mr. Thorpe. The other work announced, Layamon, is still in the press, and its publication is anxiously looked for by those who take an interest in our early literature.

The Rev. Thomas Silver, formerly Anglo-Saxon professor, published at Oxford, in the year 1831, "The Coronation Service, or Consecration of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, as it illustrates the Origin of the Constitution." In the same year was announeed, as preparing for publication at Oxford, an "Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary, with a Compendium of Anglo-Saxon Grammar, by the Rev. R. M. White, A.M., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford," which was superseded by a far more

useful publication to be noticed hereafter. The History of the Anglo-Saxons, by Sir Francis Palgrave, in a small 12mo,* published in this year also, is the best epitome of Saxon history that we possess. It arose out of the materials collected for his elaborate work, "The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth. Anglo-Saxon period. Containing the Anglo-Saxon Policy, and the Institutions arising out of Laws and Usages which prevailed before the Conquest." 2 vols. 4to, London, 1831-2. It is much to be regretted, that this, without doubt, the most valuable and complete work we possess on the Anglo-Saxon polity, instead of receiving from the public that encouragement which its merits demanded, has met with but a slow sale, and its publication was effected at a considerable loss.† This work must, for many years to come, form the basis of our knowledge respecting the massive framework of the Anglo-Saxon government. No office, however minute, no station, however high, has been passed over without its several bearings having been pointed out, and its importance carefully and distinctly marked. To the mind of the general reader it will add many a new suggestion, and to his store, new facts; but to those who take a deep interest in the origin and progress of the English language and the English constitution, it is a mine of wealth. A volume which should always accompany it (and the value of which seems duly appreciated if we judge by its great price and scarcity) is "Allen's Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England," 8vo, 1830, which contains sounder views on this subject than are to be met with in any volume of its size published within the last century.

Another Grammar, under the following title, appeared about this time, "An Anglo-Saxon Grammar, and Derivatives; with Proofs of the Celtic Dialects being of Eastern Origin; and an Analysis of the Style of Chaucer, Douglas, and Spenser. By William Hunter, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric, Anderson's University. London,

* Forming Vol. XXI. of Murray's Family Library.

† See Minutes of Evidence on the Record Commission, folio 1836, [5326.]

Longman, 1832."* The "Rudiments of a Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue. By Joseph Gwilt, Esq." published two or three years before, like the above work, is considered of but little value since the appearance of Rask's Grammar, in an English translation. Boucher's Glossary of Archaic and Provincial words, of which two parts only have hitherto appeared, contains, in the illustrations, many quotations from the Anglo-Saxon poems and other writings. This work, if completed on the same plan as the first two numbers printed, would form a valuable accession to English philology; but, from the length of time which has elapsed since the issue of the second number, it is to be feared that all intention of proceeding with it is given up.

The poem of Beowulf, the most remarkable composition which exists in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, after having (like that of Cædmon) occupied the attention of several Saxon scholars, was at length published under the following title: "The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Traveller's Song, and the Battle of Finnesburh, edited, together with a Glossary of the more difficult words, and an Historical Preface, by John M. Kemble, Esq. M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, 1833," 12mo. The impression (which was limited to 100 copies) was sold in the short space of three months; so great an interest had the publication of this noble poem excited amongst the lovers of old English literature. An article on English Preterits by the same gentleman appeared in the "Philological Museum," No. V. for February 1833, printed at Cambridge. About this time, also, Mr. Kemble gave a course of lectures on the history of the English language, or of that portion of it relating to the Anglo-Saxon period, in Cambridge University, a specimen of which was printed.

From Mr. Thorpe, in conjunction with Mr. Kemble, we were led to expect "The Anglo-Saxon Versions and Glosses

* In the brief notice of this Grammar in the Athenæum for 1832, p. 336, an amusing blunder has been committed. It is styled "An Anglo-Saxon Grammar, by *W. Anderson*, Professor of Moral Philosophy, &c. A work much wanted and well executed. We hope it will lead many to 'drink from the pure well of English undefiled' in the writings of the fathers of our literature."

of the Holy Gospels," in a single 4to volume, the immediate publication of which was proposed in the following manner:

"The pure Saxon text, from a Cambridge MS., with complete collations; from a MS. in the Bodleian Library; in the Semi-Saxon text of the twelfth century, from the Hatton MS. in the Bodleian Library; a Cambridge MS.; and a MS. in the King's Library. The text of the Hatton MS. will occupy a separate column.

"II. The Vulgate, accompanied by the interlineary glosses of the eighth century, from the celebrated MSS. in the Cottonian and Bodleian Libraries, known as the Durham, or St. Cuthbert's, and the Rushworth, MSS."

Of the pure Saxon text two editions have already appeared, the one by Fox in 1571, and the other by Junius and Mareschall in 1665. Of the Semi-Saxon text no specimen has appeared. The St. Cuthbert's and Rushworthian Glosses have until recently almost remained unknown, although the dialect in which they are written (that of Northumbria) renders their publication desirable on many accounts. The prospectus further announced that "the first part, price fifteen shillings, containing the Gospel of St. Matthew, will be sent to press as soon as a sufficient number of names shall be collected."* But the want of sufficient patronage, it is to be feared, has added this to the list of "good intentions frustrated."

Trusting to that public patronage, which it is too often a delusion to expect from other sources, Mr. Thorpe published his "Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. A Selection in Prose and Verse from Anglo-Saxon Authors of various ages; with a Glossary. Designed chiefly as a first book for Students." 8vo. London, 1834. This is truly considered by every one who has had occasion to study the Anglo-Saxon by its means as a work of the highest value. The preface gives an arranged list of the selections introduced, with authorities for the text adopted, after which the author, in his desire to render his work as useful as possible, has met the difficulties of the student, by furnishing him with a table of contents, ar-

* Michel's Bibliothèque Anglo-Saxonne, p. 162-3.

ranged according to the order in which it may be advisable to read the extracts. One chapter of the Gospels is given in the Saxon character, that the student may have no difficulty when he meets with any work in that character, either printed or manuscript. With this exception, and the use of the þ and ð, the entire text of the Analecta is in Roman letter.

The selections are as follow:—I. From the Gospels, published at Dort in 1665, by Junius and Mareschall; the first chapter of Mark being accompanied by the Northumbrian Gloss from the Durham Book, [MS. Cott. Nero D.IV.,] for a comparison of the dialects. II. Ælfric's Preface to Genesis; the first chapter of Genesis; the Book of Job, from Thwaites's edition of the Heptateuch, and corrected from L'Isle's transcript in the Bodleian. III. Extracts from the Saxon Chronicle, chiefly from the text of Dr. Ingram's edition. IV. Extracts from Alfred's Translation of Orosius, from a MS. in the Cotton Library. V. The Life of St. Hilda, with an account of the poet Cædmon. VI. Homilies from Bodleian MSS. 1. De Fide Catholica; 2. In Septuagesima; 3. In Natale Sᶜᵗ Cuthberti; 4. In Natale Sᶜᵗ Eadmundi. VII. Extracts from King Alfred's Translation of Bœthius, containing the stories of Orpheus and Ulysses, from Rawlinson's edition. VIII. A description of the Mandrake, from the Saxon translation of Apuleius de Herbis. [MS. Cott.] IX. A Dialogue between Saturn and Solomon, from a Cottonian MS.* X. Ælfrici Colloquium, from a Cottonian MS. In the Colloquy, the Saxon is only an interlinear gloss to the Latin, the design of the author being, by means of a Hamiltonian version, to facilitate to children the acquirement of the Latin tongue. XI. Two Wills from the Cottonian Library, written in the barbarous dialect of East Anglia. XII. The Death of Byrhtnoth, or the Battle of Maldon, a fragment, printed as prose at the end of Hearne's edition of Johannis Glastoniensis Chronicon, from a Cottonian MS. The original perished in

* In the Red Book of Derby, MS. C. C. C. Cambridge, is a metrical dialogue between the same parties, which, with other curious extracts from Cambridge MSS., it is hoped, will soon be given to the public by Mr. J. M. Kemble. Thorpe's Analecta, Preface, p. vi.

the fire of 1731. XIII. Judith, a fragment, printed as prose at the end of Thwaites's Heptateuch. The text given is founded upon a collation of Thwaites's text with the Cotton MS. The loss of the remaining portion of this noble production is much to be regretted. XIV. The Grave, a fragment, from a Bodleian MS. This singularly impressive and almost appalling fragment is in the margin of a volume of Semi-Saxon Homilies in the Bodleian Library. XV. The History of King Leir and his Daughters, from two Cottonian MSS. This is from the Chronicle already mentioned under the name of Layamon; and is, together with the following extracts, in Semi-Saxon. XVI. Extracts from the Ormulum; from the Junian MSS. in the Bodleian. It consists of a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels, interspersed with moralizations, by an ecclesiastic, named Orm or Ormin. The author, by adopting the idea of doubling the consonant after a short vowel, (as in German,) has enabled us to form some tolerably accurate notions as to the pronunciation of our forefathers. Thus it is reasonably to be hoped that "after a while, when the taste of such curiosities is grown a little more general," and the Ormulum has been published, an additional light may be thrown on this very curious subject by this ancient critic of our mother-tongue.

As an Appendix, Mr. Thorpe has inserted the Spell to restore Fertility to Land rendered sterile by Witchcraft, printed before, but somewhat incorrectly, by Rask, at the end of his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, from Nyerup's *Symbolæ*, &c. The present text is founded upon two careful collations of the Cotton MSS. A valuable Glossary, extending to upwards of eighty pages, is then given, which concludes the work. The Semi-Saxon words are marked by an obelisk prefixed. The Glossary would have been of still greater value had the references to page and line been given. I have thus given the contents of this volume at length, because it cannot be too generally known, nor its usefulness too widely diffused.

A review of the "Analecta Anglo-Saxonica," which contained some severe strictures on the Saxon scholars of Eng-

land, appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1834, and which gave rise to what has been termed the "Anglo-Saxon Controversy;" but, although it elicited one or two excellent articles from the pens of the contending parties, the contest was of too personal a character for much profit to be derived from it. In the November number of the same Magazine, is an article (by Sir F. Madden) "On the Progress of Anglo-Saxon Literature in England," in which specimens of the text of Layamon, as given by Mr. Turner, in his History of England during the Middle Ages, and as proposed to be given in the forthcoming edition by himself, are inserted in parallel columns, with the several translations of each. In the number for December, there is a paper by Mr. Kemble, which contains some critical remarks on the text of Beowulf, as given in the specimens which Mr. Conybeare inserted in his Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, and upon the Latin translation which accompanies it. Sir F. Madden likewise, to the same number, contributed a few useful remarks on some of the Semi-Saxon words in Thorpe's Glossary to his Analecta. Two Dissertations on some of the Anglo-Saxon Pronouns, by Mr. Jennings, found a place in "Brayley's Graphical and Historical Illustrator," 4to, 1834; and a few Notes on the Dissertations appeared in the same volume.

A work under the title of "A History of Europe during the Middle Ages," forming a portion of Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, published this year, contains more ignorance and misrepresentation respecting the history, character, and literature of the Anglo-Saxons, than it would be easy to find in any similar publication during the present century. Compiled, as this part of the work chiefly is, from recent publications, and often without direct acknowledgment, (several authorities being huddled together in the notes,) and possessing such slender pretensions to research, which might admit of dissent from other writers, we are almost surprised to find any one possessing the hardihood to indite such language as the following:—"The Germanic codes (as found in the collections of Lindenbrog and others) are favourable to the rich and tyrannical to the poor, but none of them, nor all of them

combined, are in this respect so odious as that of our ancestors. In fact, the very worst part of the continental codes, without many of their redeeming qualities, were adopted by the selfish barbarians of England. To state the liberal qualities, the manly wisdom, the public virtue, of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, has been a favourite employment for declamation in a certain noisy assembly. Such declamation shows a deplorable ignorance of their character, their history, their institutions. They were neither liberal nor just; they were neither wise nor virtuous. On the contrary, every remaining record proves that they were at once the most barbarous, the most selfish, the most blood-thirsty, unjust, odious, and yet despicable of the European nations; that they were destitute of all virtue, public or private. How such a horde of lawless savages contrived to escape mutual destruction by the violence or perfidy of each other, is a problem of impracticable solution. Their society was always disorganized; but by some extraordinary means they contrived to preserve their existence as a people."* And elsewhere the author, to complete his picture, tells us that "Theft prevailed amongst every order of men, in the clergy as well as the laity, among thanes as well as ceorls, the canons of councils vainly endeavoured to extirpate it. . . . This abominable people (the Anglo-Saxons) had filled the measure of their iniquities. The Norman invasion, though one of the severest, was also one of the most salutary, inflictions that ever befel this country; and mercy no less than justice required the chastisement as the forerunner of its future regeneration."†

The crimes and vices of individuals in every age render it by no means a difficult task to collect together materials for invective of a stronger character than this, generalized and applied as it is here to the national character. Neither is it difficult to apply that unjustly to one nation which may be strictly true of another. From all our inquiries hitherto respecting the Anglo-Saxons, and our knowledge of their institu-

* History of Europe during the Middle Ages, vol. iii. 81.
† Ibid. vol. iii., vol. iv. 115.

tions, laws, and literature, the more they have become known to us, we have acquired additional reasons for exultation in being descended from such a race. In the words of a writer, whose knowledge of their language and institutions enables us to refer to as a much safer guide—"Too much ignorance prevails in England respecting the habits of our Saxon ancestors; too many of our most polished scholars have condescended to make themselves the echoes of degenerate Greeks and enervated Romans, and to forget the amphibology which lurks in the word *barbarous;* while want of power to comprehend the peculiarities of the Saxon mind—without which no one will comprehend the peculiarities of the Saxon institutions—has led others to describe the ancestors of the English nation as savages half reclaimed, without law, morals, or religion. To this assertion it is enough to oppose the fact, that nearly all European civilization went forth from our shores, when the degraded remnants of Roman cultivation survived only to bear witness in their ruins to the crimes of the respective nations, and the punishment which the crimes of nations never yet have failed to bring down upon them. How evidently the finger of God showed itself in the irruption of the barbarians may best be learnt from the records of Procopius, Salvianus, and other contemporary writers. In reading the accounts given by these hostile witnesses, we cannot escape from the conviction that the appointed work of the Teutons was to reinfuse life and vigour, and the sanctity of a lofty morality, into institutions perishing through their own corruption. And the Anglosaxons were not the least active in fulfilling their part of this great duty."*

After this eloquent vindication of the Saxon language and race, it may appear almost out of place to quote at any great length the crude notions of the historian of the middle ages, respecting the Anglo-Saxon writings. One or two specimens will be sufficient. Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase, he tells us, "consists only of vain repetitions or paraphrastic amplifi-

* Kemble's Anglo-Saxon Charters, vol. i. Introd. p. iii. Published for the British Historical Society.

cations of scripture language.* . . After this specimen of sacred poetry, we have no wish to notice the poem of Judith,† or the other rude effusions of the sacred muse." In another place we are told of the Saxon that it is "a language easy of acquirement, yet far from an ordinary accomplishment;" and hence we give due credence to the following note, referring to the Song on Athelstan's Victory at Brunanburh:—"Of this celebrated king we had, with much trouble, prepared a new translation, differing evidently from Gibson's, Turner's, and Ingram's, when the one by Mr. Price, the accomplished editor of Warton's History of English Poetry, fell into our hands. In a moment we committed our own version to the flames, both because it had been made from faulty originals, (Gibson and Ingram,) and because Mr. Price is the first Saxon scholar who has understood the original. In justice to him we adopt both his version and his notes, which display a critical ingenuity likely to interest every student in the language."‡ Specimens from the poem on the Death of Byrhtnoth are then given, because, as we are told, although the translation has been published by Mr. Conybeare in his Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, "that book is become too scarce to be purchased at any price." In concluding our remarks, we would advise the author, before the issue of a second edition, to study thoroughly the Anglo-Saxon language and institutions, by which means he will be enabled to make his book something more than a text-book of errors.

The student has to thank the unwearied industry of Mr. Thorpe for another useful work after the Analecta has been

* "Of one, whom, unjustly or justly, I considered the Father of English Song." Thorpe's Cædmon, Introd.

† "This fragment, perhaps more than any other composition, leads us to form a very high idea of the poetic powers of our forefathers. The entire poem must have been a noble production." Thorpe's Analecta, Pref. p. viii.

‡ Europe During the Middle Ages, vol. iv. p. 21. Notwithstanding the high eulogium on Mr. Price's translation, some very reputable Saxon scholars have pronounced on it a very different opinion. From the readiness with which the historian committed his own version to the flames, can we hesitate a moment in believing that it arose from his *not* possessing a critical knowledge of the language which he attempts, although so ineffectually, to depreciate?

mastered, in "The Anglo-Saxon Translation of the Romance of Apollonius of Tyre, upon which is founded the Play of Pericles, attributed to Shakspeare, from a MS. in the Library of C. C. C. Cambridge, with a Literal Translation, &c.," 8vo, 1834. The Saxon text has been carefully given; and, in the matter of accents, (that debateable ground,) the editor has, we are assured, faithfully adhered to the MS. The year following, we are indebted to him for another work, "Libri Psalmorum Versio antiqua Latina; cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica, partim soluta Oratione, partim metrice composita," &c. Edited from a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris. It was printed at the Clarendon press, Oxford.

To the edition which Mr. Cardale, a few years before, printed of Alfred's prose version of Bœthius, we have to add the Metrical Version of the same work, under the following title, "King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Metres of Bœthius, with an English Translation, and Notes, by the Rev. Samuel Fox, M.A. London, 1835." It is supposed that the prose version was made by Alfred when harassed by those manifold worldly occupations, which engaged his bodily and mental powers, and that when he was possessed of comparative leisure, he turned it again into song. The reader is referred to the text of Rawlinson's edition, if he question the correctness of the present; but, to satisfy the reasonable claims of modern scholars, a collation of this with the original MS. would have been desirable.

"The Anglo-Saxon Church, its history, revennes, and general character. By Henry Soames, M. A. London, 1835," was another valuable addition to our previous knowledge of the faith and doctrines of the early English Church. A second edition has just appeared. To the Archæologia, Vol. XXVI. Sir Thomas Phillipps communicated "Three inedited Charters from the Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey." They show the changes in orthography which the Saxon language underwent previous to the Norman Conquest. In the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1835, is an article by Mr. Kemble on Anglo-Saxon accents, which is confined principally to a comparison of the Norse with the Anglo-Saxon.

A Review and Sketch of Anglo-Saxon Poetry appeared in Fraser's Magazine for the same month, from the pen of Mr. Thomas Wright, which, amongst other things, contains an analysis of the poem of Beowulf. It has since been translated, with additions, into French.

A volume of considerable interest to the lovers of our old literature was printed about this time, (for the work has neither title nor date, nor is it yet published,) known as Appendix B to Rymer's Fœdera. It consists of poetry and fragments from MSS. existing in foreign libraries. Not being enabled to obtain a sight of the volume, I am indebted to the work of M. Michel for an account of its contents. 1. Canones editi sub Eadgaro rege. This article is, I believe, from a MS. at Brussels. 2. Pœnitentialis Ecgberti, Archiepiscopi Eboracensis, liber IV^tus^. From Brussels, with a plate of fac-simile. 3. Glossarium Latino-Anglo-Saxonicum, e cod. Brux. 4. Extracts from the Anglo-Saxon Psalter of the Bibliothèque du Roi, with two plates of fac-similes, the same as were afterwards used for Thorpe's edition of his Psalter. These specimens occupy the first part of the work, extending to page 46. The principal part of the remainder of the volume is occupied with the poetry of the MS. preserved at Vercelli in Italy, printed in double columns, with three plates of fac-similes. The different poems are these:—1. The Legend of St. Andrew, 3441 lines. 2. The Fates of the Twelve Apostles, a fragment, 190 lines. 3. The Departed Soul's Address to the Body.—Part I. The Condemned Soul, 249 lines.—Part II. The Blessed Soul, 80 lines. 4. A Fragment, moral and religious, 92 lines. 5. The Holy Rood, a Dream, 310 lines. 6. The Invention of the Cross, 2648 lines. After these is an Anglo-Saxon Gloss to Prudentius, from a MS. at Boulogne; and an Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon Glossary at Epinal, originally from the Abbey of moyen Moutier. At the end of the volume are four plates of fac-similes of manuscripts, with interlineary Anglo-Saxon Glosses.*

From some recent discoveries of Mr. Kemble in Runic

* Michel, Bibliothèque Anglo-Saxonne, p. 164-5.

inscriptions, he has been enabled to identify the author of the poetry in the Vercelli MS., which he refers to Cynewulf, abbot of Peterborough, the probable author, likewise, of the poetry contained in the Codex Exoniensis.

We learn from the Minutes of Evidence on the Record Commission, that it was edited by Mr. B. Thorpe, and that 250 copies only of the work were printed. "It comprises the transcripts and fac-similes of Anglo-Saxon MSS. found on the Continent, and contains every thing worthy of publication which has yet come to light, with the exception of two MSS. too large for insertion."* From the evidence of Mr. Cooper we also learn, that "In some of the documents printed in the Appendix B are found words not elsewhere occurring, and many orthographical variations interesting to the philologist. They will, therefore, be eminently useful in compiling that great desideratum, a complete Anglo-Saxon Lexicon. The Vercelli pieces, in particular, which exceed the number of 7000 lines, are, in the opinion of the most competent judges, an invaluable accession to our ancient literature. They have been already found useful for the interpretation of some difficult passages in the Anglo-Saxon Laws, now editing by Mr. Thorpe, under the authority of the Commission."†

The subject of the Anglo-Saxon writings appears to have excited, about this period, the attention of our neighbours the French; and, in 1836, a translation of an article on the Progress of Saxon Literature in England, and on Saxon Poetry, which appeared in one of our magazines, with some additions, into French, was effected by M. Larenaudière, and published at Paris, under the following title: "Coup-d'œil sur les Progrès et sur l'état actuel de la Littérature Anglo-Saxonne en Angleterre." This forms the first of a series of works on Anglo-Saxon literature by MM. de Larenaudière and Michel. The second volume of this collection came out in 1837, entitled, "Bibliothèque Anglo-Saxonne, par Francisque Michel."

* The two works omitted on account of their length were an Anglo-Saxon Psalter, and some homilies, found at Vercelli in Italy. See Minutes of Evidence, &c., on the Record Commission. [Charles P. Cooper, Esq., 3122.]

† Minutes of Evidence, &c., on the Record Commission. [Ibid. 2191.]

The third publication of the "Anglo-Saxonica" intended, was an edition of the Voyages of Othere and Wulstan, from the Orosius of King Alfred, for which and other works a font of Saxon type was cast, but the design seems to have been for the present given up.

Of the Anglo-Saxon Bibliography of M. Michel, it is necessary to say a few words. It may be viewed in two lights; first, as the production of a foreigner, from whom it is unreasonable to expect that accurate bibliographical knowledge which is rare even in native scholars. In this respect it appears a respectable publication. The author was employed by the French government to visit this country, for the purpose of making such transcripts of the MSS. in our libraries as related to the early history and literature of the French nation, or which that government, in its desire to promote historical literature, was anxious to publish. During his residence in this country, finding the subject of Anglo-Saxon literature attracting great attention, and being thrown, from the nature of his inquiries, into the society of those gentlemen who had been instrumental in promoting it, he projected an Anglo-Saxon Bibliography; and of which, in his Report to M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction, on his researches in the English libraries he thus incidentally alludes to it: "Desirous of furnishing to my countrymen who are wishing to pursue the study of the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic, a special bibliography which might guide their first steps, I have composed, with Mr. John Kemble, a catalogue of all the printed works in Anglo-Saxon and Gothic, which I have been able to find. Permit me to add, that this catalogue, which I have reason to think as complete as possible, is now, with your authorization, in the press at Paris."*

We, therefore, in another point of view, take the work on its own merits. The materials which the author had already prepared for him, when he began his work, were by no means scanty or difficult of access. In Hickes's Grammar, 4to, 1689, is a catalogue of Anglo-Saxon books. Appended to the

* See Gentleman's Magazine for Nov. 1835.

Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS. by Wanley, is one also of printed books in that language. In Bosworth's Elements, 1823, is a list of Grammars; and in the same author's Origin of the Germanic and Scandinavian Languages and Nations, 1836, is a chronological list of the chief works printed in Anglo-Saxon, with a particular notice of Grammars and Dictionaries intended for junior students, and of other works relating to the same language. These four works figure in M. Michel's Bibliography, and particular notice is taken of those portions which relate to his subject. With these aids we naturally expect accuracy and completeness. Let us see how they have been effected. The first work given is Lambarde's Archaionomia, 1568, when it is a fact well known, that the "Testimonie of Antiquitie," which figures amongst the "Livres sans date," was published in 1567, in one, if not two editions.* The edition of Fox's Martyrs, in 1570, is not mentioned, nor, in fact, any until that of 1610, although two or three intervened; besides which, of the nine or ten editions that appeared, three only are noticed. If it were necessary, on account of the printer, or the type, or the Saxon monuments, in one edition, varying from those of another, to notice the whole, it might have been done, otherwise the quotation of the title and contents at length once, seems sufficient for every useful purpose. The same remark applies to Camden's Remains, of which several editions are known, and the first appears here, but out of its place. Verstegan's Restitution, &c., is not mentioned at all, nor is the book perhaps of much use now, yet it contains one of the earliest lists of Saxon words ever printed, the germ of our present elaborate lexicons. Many books with a line or two of Saxon only have been introduced unnecessarily, with a formidable show of titles, for no apparent purpose, but to add bulk to a very slender, and very expensive volume. In this category must we rank Bentham's History of Ely, (p. 113;) and Todd's Lives of Gower and Chaucer, (p. 125.) Maitland's London, which figures under the year 1739, (p. 110,)

* See p. 38 of this work.

as containing a Saxon charter of William the Conqueror, is another instance, which, in the sixteenth century, might not have been out of place, (where it, in fact, appears in Hollinshed's Chronicle,) but is certainly so here. The omissions are numerous, which perhaps we may make some allowance for in a first attempt. In the department of foreign works, the author seems to have been indebted to some master-hand, by which that part of it has been rendered more complete than we could expect, although an occasional addition may still be made. We cannot, however, forgive the hyper-criticism so often displayed in inserting the word *sic.* In some cases it is evidently unnecessary in pointing out typographical errors, as, for instance, in the title of Somner's Dictionary, it occurs no less than three times, two of which are merely wide spacings, by which one word has been separated into two, and another word (Anglosaxonicæ) joined, which the critic thinks should be a compound word.* In one instance a reference to the work has shown the critic to be in the wrong, (p. 109.) Some corrections are given in the end, whilst a few errors still remain in the text unnoticed. But on the whole, this work will be useful to the Saxon student, and, until one more complete shall be forthcoming, it will be desirable for him to interleave his copy, and make those additions which, in his investigation of the subject, may be thrown in his way. Prefixed to the work is a letter by Mr. J. M. Kemble in English, which extends to upwards of sixty pages, giving a brief sketch of Anglo-Saxon literature in England and on the Continent, including some pages of Adversaria, furnishing Corrigenda in Dr. Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik.

A second edition of the Poem of Beowulf, the Traveller's Song, and the Battle of Finnesburh, edited by Mr. Kemble, was published in the year 1837, to which was added, in a second volume by the same author, "A Translation of the Poem of Beowulf, with a copious Glossary, Preface, and Philological Notes." In this publication is furnished to the reader

* Mr. Kemble, in his recent work on Anglo-Saxon Charters, invariably writes Anglosaxon in this way.

every thing that is known, or perhaps can be known, of the hero of the poem, of its author, and of the history of the MS. All that is valuable in the pages of Thorkelin, Grundtvig, Turner, and Conybeare, will be found here; and, therefore, to the work itself must we refer the reader for the information he may be desirous of acquiring respecting this, the most perfect specimen of heroic poetry which exists in any of the old dialects of Northern Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

THE work so long and so anxiously expected by the Saxon students of England, a Saxon and English Dictionary, was at length published in the year 1838, in a thick octavo volume. It has the following title:—"A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, containing the Accentuation—the Grammatical Inflections—the Irregular Words referred to their Themes—the parallel terms from the other Gothic Languages—the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon in English and Latin—and copious English and Latin Indexes, serving as a Dictionary of English and Anglo-Saxon, as well as of Latin and Anglo-Saxon. With a Preface on the Origin and Connexion of the Germanic Tongues—a Map of Languages—and the Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar. By the Rev. J. Bosworth, LL.D., &c. London, Longman, &c. M.DCCC.XXXVIII."* Some copies of the Introduction to this work were printed in 1836 with the following title:—"The Origin of the Germanic and Scandinavian Languages and Nations: with a Sketch of their Literature, and short Chronological Specimens of the Anglo-Saxon, Friesic, Flemish, Dutch, the German from the Mœso-Goths to the present time, the Icelandic, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish; tracing the Progress of these Languages and their Connexion with the Anglo-Saxon and the present English. With a Map of European Languages," &c.

The matter in the Introduction is of the most interesting

* The date is really M.DCCC.VIII., although the former has been placed very ingeniously over it. The title should have been reprinted.

kind. Besides the Anglo-Saxon bibliography already mentioned, it has some remarks on the Anglo-Saxon and Semi-Saxon Dialects, with Illustrations, followed by an account of the principal English Provincial Glossaries, with specimens from them, which satisfactorily exhibit the retention of many pure Saxon words and forms, which have become extinct in the more refined language of the metropolis. An elaborate and highly interesting account of the Friesic language by the author's friend, the Rev. Mr. Halbertsma, proving its affinity to the Anglo-Saxon: this is followed by dissertations on the Old Saxon, now called Low German, or Platt-Deutsch, the Dutch, the Gothic, High German, and Scandinavian tongues. After these we have other dissertations on the affinity of the Germanic languages, and on the importance of etymology; the essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar; an abstract of Professor Rask's Grammar; and an abstract of Professor Grimm's Declensions and Conjugations.

From the account of his Dictionary which Mr. Bosworth has prefixed, we are freely, and without ostentation, made acquainted with the materials which he employed; and, whilst the zeal with which he availed himself of every source of information is highly creditable to him as a scholar, the candour with which he has acknowledged the assistance of others, in particulars however minute, is still more deserving our hearty commendation. "As there has been a careful citation of authorities, and at the same time particular obligations expressed, very little more can be now required. A free use, without continued reference, has been made of preceding Dictionaries and Vocabularies, and of the A.-S. Grammar of an erudite friend, the late Professor Rask. Mr. Thorpe's Glossaries, appended to his Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, and Apollonius, and his index to Cædmon, have been useful auxiliaries. Citations from Cædmon have always been made from Mr. Thorpe's improved text, through whom, and Sir Nicholas Carlisle, the learned Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, the perusal of some sheets was allowed before the work was published. Amongst those to whom the greatest debt of gratitude is due, is an old and faithful friend,

C. S. Cardale, Esq., known to A.-S. students by the benefit he has rendered them in publishing his elegant and correct edition of Bœthius. This gentleman allowed the full and free use of his extensive and very valuable Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary in MS. It would be ingratitude not to mention the friendly communications of the Rev. S. Fox, or to leave unnoticed the advantages derived from his published works. A well known collector of choice books, Mr. Bohn, was so obliging, as spontaneously to lend an interleaved copy of Lye's Dictionary, with MS. notes by the late Rev. S. Henshall. The Rev. M. White, B.D., Professor of A.-S. in the University of Oxford, had given notice of his intention to prepare an A.-S. Dictionary, but being informed that this work was far advanced, Mr. White, in the most gentlemanly manner, gave up his intended publication. He has, however, taken the most lively interest in the progress of this Dictionary."*

The author, after much consideration, and with all the prejudices of an antiquarian taste, long familiarity with the Anglo-Saxon characters, and the difficulty of recognising the same words in a different dress, has, notwithstanding, been guided by sound discretion in the adoption of the Roman character, (with the exception of þ and ð,) by which the work has been rendered far less expensive, and therefore available to a more numerous class of readers than it would otherwise have been. "Nothing," Mr. Bosworth assures us, "but a thorough conviction that the Roman character would be the most legible, and would best show the identity of the present English with the Anglo-Saxon, as well as the close analogy existing in the words of all the other Germanic languages, would have led to the adoption of this type."†

It was originally intended to exclude all impure Anglo-Saxon words, and to introduce none of a later date than A.D. 1100. Subsequently it was found desirable to take a wider range, and to include some terms of a more recent formation. These

* Introd. to Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, p. clxxvi.
† Ibid. p. clxxvii.

are mostly from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with their date affixed. As the authors are always quoted, the age and purity of a word can at once be seen. The radical and some other chief words are generally printed in capitals. Accents have been adopted to distinguish the long from the short vowels, but only used in the Dictionary on the word and its variations, standing at the head of each article, which is sufficient for all practical purposes. On the orthography adopted, no fancy or presumption, we are assured, has been permitted, but that for the most part is strictly followed, which is found most frequently in the best authors; still the principal variations in the literal expression of a word are added in the order in which they vary from what is deemed the correct spelling; but all authors have been allowed to answer for themselves, and to appear in their own dress, without a wish to dictate the mode in which it is now presumed they ought to have written. A reference is constantly made to the place where the word is found, and the reader left to form his own judgment.*

With the view of illustrating the Anglo-Saxon, nearly all the radical words, and a few important compounds, are followed by the parallel terms from the cognate dialects. For this portion of his work the author was indebted to a zealous and learned friend, a native of Holstein, who used his utmost efforts to verify every word introduced amongst the parallels, and to give the orthography and gender correctly. To show more clearly the analogy of the cognate languages, they have been arranged in the order of their affinity, which was considered the most natural. Verbs with prefixes such as be-, ge-, on-, &c., are for the most part placed under the radical word; but if found in the infinitive mood, or in any form derived immediately from it, such verbs are given, with a brief explanation, in the alphabetical order of the prefixes, and a reference to the radical word for complete information.

The explanation of the Anglo-Saxon is in English, one word of which is often identical with the Saxon, by which the

* Introd. to Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, p. clxxvi.

necessity of a long paraphrastic Latin rendering is superseded, and the definition shortened. To ensure the authority of Somner and Lye, and the sanction of Saxon scholars, the Latin significations are added. The Latin explanation is generally the original, from which the Anglo-Saxon translation was first made, and thus confirms the exact meaning on the authority of the translators. In the quotations, except from the Bible, which is too well known to require it, an English translation, as literal as possible, is given; but in those from Bede, and often from the Bible, the Latin is retained, as it is the original, from which the version into Saxon has been made, and therefore its best interpreter. To the English translation the Latin is appended, when it indicates the grammatical order or the inflections of the Saxon. The general plan is this:—The radical meaning is first given, then its various significations, numbered and arranged in that order which appeared to accord with the association of ideas, and each meaning, as far as it was practicable, confirmed by quotations, with a reference to the authority. After these follow the idiomatical expressions specially marked. By a proper attention to the economy of space in printing, without interfering with typographical neatness, more practical information is comprised in this octavo volume than in the two ponderous folios of Lye and Manning. A table of the principal contractions employed in the Dictionary furnishes every particular on the subject of authorities which can be desired.

Immediately following the Dictionary is an Index of the English Words, which, by a very ingenious process, enables the student at once to refer to the equivalent Saxon word in the Dictionary. This apparatus consists in appending to the Arabic numerals in the Index the letters of the alphabet. These are given in the head lines of the pages in the Dictionary, with the letter only opposite, or as nearly opposite as it can be, in the column where the Saxon word that is wanted will be found. And, as sometimes two, at others three, letters appear in a column, a very little seeking is requisite to find any given word that may be wanted.* In addition

* This very ingenious process, I observe, has been employed by the Ame-

to this, an obelisk (†) is placed in the Index against those English words which are immediately derived from the Saxon, by which means an immediate choice of several references is furnished, and a saving of time effected. Following the English Index is an Index to the Latin words, in which the same method has been adopted, so that by this process the work has been made a Saxon-Latin-English Dictionary. In preparing these Indexes, and in carrying them through the press, the author acknowledges the obliging attentions of the Rev. J. Williamson and Mr. O. H. Flowers, both of St. John's College, Cambridge. The extensive Supplement at the end appears to be a defect in the work, and which, it is to be hoped, will be avoided in a second edition, by incorporating that which is useful, and rejecting the rest.

The Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, it was well known, had been a long time in preparation. The author tells us it was begun with a sanguine hope of soon bringing it to a satisfactory conclusion; but it employed every leisure hour of his time for more than seven years, four of which it was in the press. Though he used all diligence, and availed himself of every means in his power, and had the patriotism, amidst many disadvantages, to print, in his own country, and at his own expense and risk, it fell far, very far short of answering his expectations. The list of subscribers was extensive;* but, although the price of the book was fixed at the moderate sum of thirty shillings, the long time which had elapsed from the issue of proposals and the completion of the work may possibly have induced some of the subscribers to withdraw their names. The volume was announced to the public some time during the last year; and it is with much pleasure we hear that it is now out of print. It is sincerely hoped, therefore,

ricans in teaching Geography. In some of their maps, capital letters are placed in the margin, between the figures which indicate the longitude, and smaller letters between those which mark the latitude. An alphabetical index of the places mentioned in the map, with both letters following the name, complete this apparatus. The position of any place in the map will be found at the point at which the two lines drawn from the marginal letters intersect each other.

* This was, a short time ago, in the possession of his publishers.

that Mr. Bosworth may, in a second edition, reap from the public at large that remuneration which his laborious, learned, and accurate work so amply deserves.

It remains now to notice such works as have recently appeared for promoting the same object. One of these is "A History of English Rhythms, from the Fifteenth Century downwards, Illustrated chiefly from our Early Literature. By Edwin Guest, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge." 2 vols. 8vo. This work contains some account of Dialects, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, and Modern, and Local Dialects, as exemplified in our MSS. The Gleeman's Song, Cædmon, Alfred, Layamon, &c. A Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and Old English Poets, and some Account of their Lives and Works. Here also may be noticed a volume published two or three years before, entitled, "Britannia Saxonica; a Map of England, during the Saxon Octarchy, with a Table shewing the Contemporary Sovereigns of each State, and the Genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon Kings. By G. W. Collin." 4to, 1833. More recently has appeared, "Music and the Anglo-Saxons: being some Account of the Anglo-Saxon Orchestra, &c. By F. D. Wackerbarth, A.B." A very neat volume came out during the last year under the title of "Principia Saxonica, or an Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Reading, comprising Ælfric's Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory; with a Preliminary Essay on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon; Illustrations from Alfred's Bede and the Saxon Chronicle; and a copious Glossary. By L. Langley, F.L.S." The text of Miss Elstob's edition was carefully collated with the Junian MS., for the editor, by the Rev. R. M. White, Anglo-Saxon Professor, which has been inserted separately after the homily. Had the various readings been inserted as notes in the pages to which they refer, its value as a manual would have been increased. The transcript from Alfred's Bede was furnished by the Rev. Dr. Bandinel. The Introduction is necessarily brief, and the Glossary can be of but little use to any one who is desirous of acquiring something more than a mere smattering of the language. Too much praise cannot be given to the typographical execution of the

Saxon text; it is a perfect gem. An edition of this Homily has just issued from the press, under the editorial care of Mr. J. S. Cardale of Leicester. An Anglo-Saxon class-book has recently been announced as in the press, being, "The Gospel of St. John, Anglo-Saxon and English, printed from the text of Junius and Marshall, with a short Anglo-Saxon Grammar prefixed."

A zealous and praiseworthy attempt to promote the study of Old English literature was made, during the last year, by the publication of the first number of a work, entitled "Reliquiæ Antiquæ," which it is intended to continue in numbers, about once in every three months. The object of the work "is to collect together such pieces from ancient inedited MSS., illustrative of the literature and languages of our forefathers during the middle ages, as are not of sufficient extent to form books by themselves, and, from their want of connection, do not easily find a place in other publications."* The first number contains some Anglo-Saxon Glosses, from two leaves of a Prosper of apparently early in the ninth century, from MS. Cotton. Tib. A. VII. A metrical Hymn, in Anglo-Saxon, from MS. Cotton. Vesp. D. VI., of the ninth century; and the Lord's Prayer and Creed, from MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, B. XIII., of the tenth century. The second number contains the Anglo-Saxon Measures of Time, from MS. Cotton. Titus, D. XXVII., of the first half of the eleventh century. A third number has just appeared. By confining themselves in an occasional number entirely to the subject of Anglo-Saxon, the editors would, in the opinion of some, materially improve their work. Its greatest utility, however, will appear in the making known some portion of those vast collections, written between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries, which exist in our public and private libraries, of this almost "terra incognita" of our literary history.

That active encouragement, which we at one time were led to expect from the public purse under the Record Commission, in historical literature, having for the present subsided, a new

* Reliquiæ Antiquæ, No. 1. Advertisement.

impulse has been given to individual energy. The formation of the Camden and the British Historical Societies may be looked upon as signs of the times, which indicate the progressive attention which is given to these subjects. The Royal Society of Literature has, much to its honour, determined on the publication of a *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, in which the usual or alphabetical order will be superseded by one far more natural, that of chronology. No part of the Biography has yet appeared, but " An Essay on the State of Literature and Learning under the Anglo-Saxons. By Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1839;" being an introduction to the first section of the work, was published a few months ago. The moderate price of this Essay, and the interesting nature of the subjects which the author has discusssd, should place it in the hands of every one entering upon the study of Anglo-Saxon. An account of the Saxon minstrels naturally introduces the subject of the Anglo-Saxon poetry and romances, specimens from which are given; after which we have an account of their Christian poetry, with quotations from Judith, Cædmon, &c. Further, we have an account of the Anglo-Saxon prose writings, and of their schools and forms of education. Amongst their natural sciences, that of medicine (læce-cræft) forms a prominent feature. As might be expected, their remedies were confined principally to the vegetable kingdom, and their prescriptions display a total absence of the knowledge of the diagnosis of disease. Some of their remedies, in the same form in which they appear in the Anglo-Saxon herbals, still linger amongst our population in the remote counties, and probably centuries more may elapse before they become extinct. Mr. Wright has, in his Notes, inserted a few of their prescriptions, accompanying them with English translations. The Essay concludes with a brief account of the fate of the Anglo-Saxon language and literature. To the work, of which this is the introduction, we most heartily wish success.

The British Historical Society, in carrying into effect their intentions of publishing a series of works connected with the early history of this country, have recently issued a volume of

Charters relating to the Anglo-Saxon period, edited by Mr. Kemble, who has prefixed an introduction of great interest and value, in which he has discussed the question respecting the authenticity of the Anglo-Saxon Charters; distributing them into several portions, by which their true character, in the presence or absence of the whole of which, may be admitted or denied. The strict and regular form of these charters could have been derived only from one source: their priestly character clearly points to the clergy for their origin. In the infancy of literature, the dignity and power attached to the sacerdotal office would fold within its grasp those who were unmindful of the honour to be derived from the life of a warrior. Hence, from the literary character of those by whom they were written, the regularity of their forms, and the illustrations of manners and customs which they incidentally afford us, the Anglo-Saxon Charters are not only of great value, but of absolute necessity in the pursuit of historical inquiries connected with that portion of our history. "To these public and private instruments," says Mr. Kemble, "which pass under the general name of Wills, we must look for information respecting the law of real property; the descent and liabilities of lands; the nature of tenure and service; the authority of the king, the nobility, and the church; even the power of the popular councils. From the Anglosaxon Wills alone we derive a reasonable account of the household arrangements, and disposition of real and personal estate. From the records of the synods or councils, and of the county courts, we gain our only insight into the nature and forms of process. But however great the light which these documents throw upon the foundations and gradual growth of our law, their value is no less, as bearing upon the mere details of early English history. That which they are to the codes of the kings in a legal sense, they are also to the annalist in a historical sense. They furnish, in short, the best means of correcting or testing the assertions of individual writers. They are to ancient history what letters, state papers, and pamphlets, are to modern history, without these, the most deceptive of fabrics."*

* Kemble's Anglo-Saxon Charters, vol. i. Introd. . ii.

"Though not immediately connected with the objects for which this collection has been formed, I may be allowed to call attention to one very important service rendered to us by a portion of these documents. I mean the Wills, which are almost exclusively drawn up in the Anglosaxon, and which, from their great antiquity, and peculiarities of dialect, are of immeasurable value to those who attempt to trace the language of our various tribes, in its relation to the dialects of the continental Germans, and its gradual progress towards the refined but weakened form, made current through the influence of the West Saxon court. The great antiquity and peculiarities of language in which they are for the most part written, is *of itself* a decisive guarantee of their authenticity. This is in itself a proof unshakeable, irrefragable, far beyond any evidence we can offer for any other class of documents, and fortunately supplied in the very case where almost all other evidence fails us; for these documents being for the most part directions, to have effect upon a contingency, and the directions of private individuals of no great note or name, without dates, or such formalities of signature as accompany the Latin charters, supply few tests of authenticity.*...One or two documents of much interest are the marriage-contracts, made between the bridegroom or suitor, and the guardians of the lady wooed; these tally in every respect with the directions of the codes, and present a lively picture of the mode of proceeding on such occasions. Their authenticity, hardly to be tested by any other means, is best proved by the philological investigation of the language in which they are written."† These, with a few other documents, which, though neither charters or wills, seemed capable of throwing light upon the legal institutions of the Anglo-Saxons, are included in the collection.

The documents in this first volume comprehend nearly the whole of those which fall within the period from the conversion of Æthelberht of Kent in 598, and the death of Ecgberht of Wessex in 838. Some of these have already appeared

* Kemble's Anglo-Saxon Charters, vol. i. Introd. p. ii. cviii.

† Ibid. p. cxii,

in publications, which, from their rarity or expensiveness, are not within the reach of every one, but very many of them have never hitherto appeared in print, and amongst them the most important of the whole collection. With the exception of about half a dozen, to whose originals we could not obtain access, or of which the originals have perished, every charter has been carefully collated with the manuscript or manuscripts in which it is preserved.* In the arrangement, the chronological order has been adopted which entailed upon the editor the laborious task of verifying the dates of every document introduced. A list of these in the volume is appended to the introduction containing the names, dates, and authorities, forming a complete apparatus to the reading of the work. A few charters, belonging to the period comprised in this volume, the editor was unable to obtain copies of in sufficient time to insert in their proper places. These were the Sherborne charters, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, one or two in the possession of the Earl of Ilchester, and a few in the collection of the Duke of Buckingham. These it is intended shall appear in an appendix, which will also contain abstracts of charters now lost, from the registers of Canterbury, and other cathedrals.† The second volume, to which the appendix will be supplementary, has not yet appeared.

In a former part of this work it was stated, that an edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws was preparing for publication under the auspices of the Record Commission. This work, begun many years ago, was at first committed to Mr. Conybeare. From being occupied with more pressing engagements he gave it up, and Mr. Richard Price was appointed editor, under whose care the work was proceeded with. On the death of that gentleman proposals were made by the Board in 1834 to Mr. B. Thorpe to complete the work, under whose care it is proceeding satisfactorily, and we have every reason to believe will soon be published. A specimen sheet, in 8vo, was printed in the year 1835, in which form the edition forthcoming

* Kemble's Anglo-Saxon Charters, vol. i. Introd. p. cxiii.
† Ibid. cxiii. Ibid. cxiv.

will appear. The original intention was to print it in folio, and a considerable portion of the work was struck off; but for its completion in this form we shall probably wait until the elaborate work, Materials for the History of Great Britain, compiled by Mr. Petrie, is published. The Saxon Chronicle, prepared for the same collection, and a great portion of which is also printed, we hope may find sufficient patronage from the public, to be embodied in a readable form under the care of the same able and judicious editor. The Appendix B. to Rymer's Fœdera, (an account of which has been already given,) containing so much that is valuable to the Anglo-Saxon student, it is much to be regretted, still remains in quiet seclusion in the warehouse of the printer, when its circulation might give a new impetus to the Anglo-Saxon learning.

After what has been said in the preceding Sketch, it may appear a useless labour to urge anything in favour of the utility of the study of the Anglo-Saxon tongue; but should any be found who entertain doubts on this subject, to such we may reply, in the words of Fox: "Albeit, it may serue to no small good steede in courts, and for them that be learned in the lawes, whereby they may more readily understand many of their old words and termes," &c.: although, with L'Isle, we "wish not this to the end we should again call this old garbe into use, but to holde where we are without borrowing where we need not." A modern writer has declared, that "too much ignorance prevails in England respecting the habits of our Saxon ancestors:" and a gentleman, well known for his legal acquirements, has told us, that "an acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon laws is necessary for writing a history of the law of England, and that a familiar knowledge of the legal antiquities of that period is very desirable;"* whilst another of the same profession has more emphatically declared, that a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon laws would be highly useful towards

* Evidence of Sir Charles Wetherell, Minutes, &c. on Record Commission, [5990.]

keeping up and perfecting our knowledge of the existing principles of our constitution and laws, because out of the Saxon laws much has been transfused into the existing system.*

If we are desirous of investigating the history of our language, through the changes which took place during its conversion from Anglo-Saxon to modern English, the key to that is afforded by a knowledge of its structure as it existed at both extremities. By tracing the language upwards to its source, we may learn the fact that it assumed different forms at different epochs; but the reason of the fact lies hid till we come to its older form, by an investigation of which we are made acquainted with it; and that which might have facilitated the process by being first acquired, and with comparative ease, is learnt only after a tedious and protracted labour. To those who consider the study of our provincial dialects of any relative value, a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon will prove very advantageous. That portion of England comprehended in the counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hants, Wilts, and part of Gloucester, (the ancient kingdom of Wessex,) still possesses a dialect, uniform in its general character, which differs materially from the varieties existing in other parts of the kingdom. This extensive dialect of the west, varying from local circumstances, and daily losing its distinctive and emphatic character, in this railroad age, if thoroughly investigated, would throw considerable light upon the disputed subject of Anglo-Saxon accents.

Those who have paid but little attention to the subject can be hardly aware how much our present language is indebted to the Anglo-Saxon. A writer, in a recent number of the Edinburgh Review, has, with considerable ingenuity, endeavoured to analyze the nature of those words for which the modern language is indebted to the more ancient. The words in the English language he estimates at 38,000, and of those derived from the Saxon as five-eighths, or about 23,000; but those derived from the latter are of that character that their recurrence, from their very nature, oftener takes place than others;

* Evidence of Mr. Serjeant Spankie, Ibid. [7444.]

and hence the language partakes, in a still greater degree, of the older forms. English grammar is almost exclusively occupied with what is of Anglo-Saxon origin; the names of the greater part of the objects of sense; those words which are expressive of our earliest and dearest connexions, and the strongest principles of our nature; those words which have been earliest used, and which are consequently invested with the strongest associations, are mostly of Anglo-Saxon origin. The language of business, of the counting-house, the shop, the market, the street, the farm; the language of poetry, of invective, of humour, of satire, is derived principally from the same source. It would seem, too, that our best modern writers have, perhaps unconsciously, been returning to a simpler model, and, by necessity, the disuse of many words from the Greek and Latin, has introduced those of Saxon origin. Nearly all our national proverbs, those homely lessons of wisdom, in which so much thrift and carefulness shine out, are derived from the same tongue.* That the terms of science are not in the like degree derived from the same origin, arises from the circumstance, that the plastic power of the language has been in a manner lost, with its inflections and terminations; and that which modern German is, the Anglo-Saxon doubtless would have been, had not circumstances of a very different nature taken place, by which a new, and, in some respects, a simpler language was substituted.

That the names of the objects of sense should be derived from the Anglo-Saxon, as well as those which express most of the usual relations of life, is not surprising, when the tenacity of the English character is recollected. Our Welsh neighbours retain their national character to a much greater extent than we do, so have they also retained their language in a more uncorrupted state than we have. It must be evident, on a little consideration, that when a nation (like an individual) acquires any thing which it did not possess before, to the thing acquired, a name must be given either from its own language, or from some other. In general, perhaps, the

* Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1839, on Bosworth's Dictionary.

name is derived from the language of the people of whom the *thing* came, an alteration being occasionally made in its pronunciation to suit the language into which it has been admitted, and by which its orthography receives some slight modification: Thus, the *cwm* of the Welsh, (to give a single instance,) in Saxon, becomes *coom*, and, in modern English, *comb;* each signifying that kind of deep sloping valley well known to all who inhabit mountainous districts, but difficult to describe without circumlocution to the dwellers in the plain.

Where a language has been preserved by a people for a series of generations in an uncorrupted, or comparatively uncorrupted state, it is rarely that the names of objects to which frequent or daily allusion is made are lost. There seems to be no desire for the introduction or absorption of new words into the language, so long as any spark of patriotism is left. Most people prefer that which their forefathers used, and if it express their ideas of things and relations, what necessity is there for more than this? That the English did long possess this feeling of reverence and respect for preceding times is evident in the retention of their customs, manners, amusements, speech, and laws. As to the latter, are we not told by every historian, even those who bring history "down to the meanest capacity," that the English, year after year, and century after century, declared to their kings, that they would be governed by no other laws than those of the good King Edward? The estimation in which we hold the Anglo-Saxon polity will increase with that facility towards its more perfect acquaintance which is to be acquired only from a thorough study of the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

This language, too, may serve to amuse as well as instruct us in tracing the names of places and of persons. As to the former, two centuries ago, L'Isle pointed out the utility of the Saxon for this purpose. "A fourth use thereof is," says he, "that we may be able to declare unto all men whom it concerns, the true meaning of their titles, charters, privileges, territories, and precincts, comparing with the nature of the thing the name thereof, so fitted, as the one to this day plainly

points out the other. I have seen some good hereof on my own grounds, and given satisfaction also unto others concerning places far off and unknown to me, insomuch as the parties have told me that if I had known the country as well as themselves, I could not have described it more rightly than I did by the mere notation of the name thereof. This proves also that our Saxon ancestors were a very wise and understanding people, and had a very significant and composable tongue, and that they did not, as men do now-a-days, for a glory of short continuance, name the places of conquest after themselves, or some of their great masters, but ever according to nature's self, as Adam gave names in Paradise. Such also were (for the most part) their own surnames, and the Christian names of their children, though now, understanding them not, some devise new, with apish imitation of the Hebrew."*

Thus, we are at no loss to account for our *hams*, our *leighs*, our *combs*, (and in one county more than thirty have this appellation prefixed or suffixed to them,) our *cots*, our *cesters*, with others of a like kind, in the names of places in England, and a thorough investigation of which would probably lead us to the knowledge of some curious facts connected with the habits and customs of the race. Their fields too received oftentimes characteristic names from their locality; their proximity to, or remoteness from, the dwelling of the proprietor. Hence the *parruck*, the *croft*, the *lease*, the *summer-lease*, the *ox-lease*, the *mead*, the *warth*, together with specific names, such as the *plash*, the *hanging*, the *linch-acre*, and hundreds of a similar character, pointing out their Saxon origin, exist in every county of England. In the boundaries, given invariably in Anglo-Saxon in the Latin charters, many of these names are preserved, because those who might be called upon as witnesses upon the rights of claimants knew no other tongue.

The Anglo-Saxon may be studied as a matter of curiosity in tracing the names of persons. It is a vulgar notion that the name of Smith seldom belongs to those of gentle blood;

* L'Isle's Divers Ancient Monuments, in the Saxon Tongue, 4to, 1638, Preface.

hence the desire to disguise it under the various forms of Smyth, Smithe, Smythe, &c.; but they all have one common origin in the Anglo-Saxon *smith*, one who smites with a hammer. The many Saxon names of places adopted by individuals with the Norman prefix *de*, during some periods of our history succeeding the Conquest, would seem to belie another vulgar notion that all such "came in with the Conqueror."

But it is in the investigation of the Anglo-Saxon government, and its relation to institutions of the present time, that we shall derive our principal encouragement to the study. The minute subdivisions of society into classes amongst them, the responsibility of each member of the class to the whole, the self-election that existed amongst these, and which gave so great an interest in ascertaining the true character of him to whom power was deputed; afford us glimpses of the institutions of a people, upon whose solid foundations the English constitution has been erected.

Moreover, with the Reformers of the sixteenth century, we may add, in this speech the faith and doctrines of our English Church is written. Though the Norman essayed to crush our language, our freedom, and our faith; though century after century bound the English Church closer and closer to that of Rome; at the appointed season, in the fulness of time, the bonds were severed, and that light which shone forth so brightly in the writings of Ælfric, just before the decline of the Saxon Church, was extinguished only to be rekindled with increased splendour at the Reformation.

Further, it remains only to mention such works as are desirable for studying the Anglo-Saxon tongue. Of grammars, the student will have an abundant choice in the list which has been placed before him; but if he has not already formed some plan, he is recommended to use Rask's Grammar, in the excellent translation of it by Mr. Thorpe. After some time has been devoted to this, the Analecta Anglo-Saxonica will be his next work; the plan given for reading this may be adopted or not as taste or inclination dictate. When the Analecta is mastered, the experience acquired will be sufficient to direct him to what other books he may require.

In selecting a Dictionary, Bosworth's will naturally occur to him; and should he be desirous of thoroughly investigating the Anglo-Saxon, the parallels from the other Northern languages which are given in this Dictionary will be of great value, and may induce him to study the Teutonic languages *en masse*, in which case the elaborate work of Dr. J. Grimm will be found indispensable.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the humble efforts which have been made in this volume will be crowned with success; and that the Anglo-Saxon tongue will, within a few years, form an essential part of a liberal education.

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